Slaves of God and Christ : a traditio-historical and exegetical examination of slavery metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity.

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A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination of Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity

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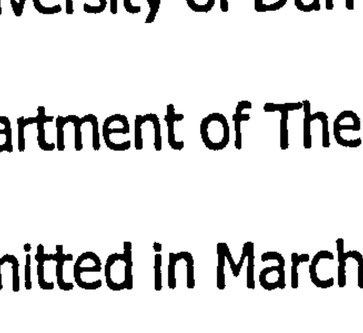

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Part Two: Slave of Christ in Pauline Literature

Abstract

Slaves of God and Christ: A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination of Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity

Interpretation of the 'slave of Christ' title and its background in Pauline literature has commonly followed two possible avenues: 1) it is an honorific title found in the LXX and borrowed by Paul from the Patriarchs, Moses, David and the Prophets; 2) it is an adoption of imagery from the institution of Greco-Roman slavery illustrating that Paul is in a similar relationship with Christ. Until now scholarship has focused largely on Greco-Roman slavery and its possible influences on Paul. This thesis demonstrates that Paul's metaphor of slavery should be located within the 'slave of God' traditions in Early Judaism rather than Greco-Roman slave practices. This is accomplished through an examination of early Jewish Literature that identifies literary traditions surrounding ancient Israel and Early Judaism's self-understanding of themselves as the slaves of God. It is within this context that Paul's slavery language is interpreted. Paul is not borrowing images from Greco-Roman society but is continuing in the traditions of his Jewish heritage and interacting within a broader discussion of slavery in Early Judaism. Christ is the paradigmatic slave of God. To follow Christ in loyal obedience is the equivalent of being his slave and ultimately allows one to fulfill obligations of slavery to God. On the individual level this occurs by imitating Christ's pattern as the slave of God found in Philippians 2.6-11. In the context of the Pauline community it is manifested when members enslave themselves to one another in the same way that Christ enslaved himself to others. Thus, the Slave of Christ title is not an abstract concept adopted from societal images nor is it an honorific title. Slavery to Christ is Paul's understanding of how the Christ event enables believers to fulfill their obligations of obedience as God's slaves.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The metaphorical usage of slavery terms in the New Testament has posed a problem for biblical interpreters because of the complex relationship the language appears to have with the institution. The terms that are used to address situations between slaves and masters are also used to explain aspects of early Christian theology. Predominant in metaphorical usage are the Pauline epistles that employ the terms more often in the construction of theology than in actual address of the institution of slavery. A survey of the undisputed epistles reveals that 1 Corinthians 7.21-23 and the letter to Philemon are the only instances in which Paul addresses an aspect of institutional slavery.[1] All other occurrences of slave language are related to Paul's understanding of an individual's relationship with Christ and others in the Christian community. Of particular interest is Paul's self-identification as a "slave of Christ" (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ). This phrase appears three times as a title for Paul: twice within an opening greeting (Rom 1.1; Phil 1.1) and once as part of a personal defense (Gal 1.10).[2]

Interpretation of the slave of Christ designation has commonly pursued two possibilities: (1) the phrase, an honorific title found in the LXX, has been borrowed by Paul from stories about the patriarchs, Moses, David and the prophets; and (2) the phrase is a symbolic adoption taken from Greco-Roman slavery and illustrates that Paul is in a similar relationship with Christ.

1.1.1 Slave of Christ as an Honorific Title

M.R. Vincent advocated the first alternative over one hundred years ago (1897) and suggested that for Paul the phrase carries thoughts of "cheerful and willing

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[1] This assumes the traditional interpretation of Philemon, which regards Onesimus as fugitive slave. It does not take into account the 'baptismal formulas' that mention slaves but are not actually addressing the institution as such (1 Cor 12.13; Gal 3.28).

[2] The phrase also appears in 1 Cor 7.22; Eph 6.6; Col 4.12; and a variation, δοῦλος θεοῦ, is found in Tit 1.1. The term σύνδουλος in Colossians 1.7 and 4.7 may also be interpreted with the same meaning as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ. In addition to these can be added the verb δουλεύω ("serve as a slave"), which on five occasions has Christ as its object, suggesting that those who fulfill this service are δοῦλοι χριστοῦ: Romans 12.11; 14.18; 16.18; Eph 6.7; and Phil 2.22 in the context of 2.21. The same verb along with its cognate δουλοω also serves the same function with God as its object in 1 Thess 1.9 and Rom 6.22. It should be noted for the present investigation, however, that all of the above references either do not have Paul as their object or occur in epistles where the Pauline authorship is disputed.

service; dependence upon Christ; of ownership by Christ and identification with Christ in his assuming the form of a bond servant." He contended that Paul had "quietly . . . slipped himself into the place of the Prophets and leaders of the Old Covenant" and substituted the name of Christ for Jehovah.[3] Vincent did not explain the phrase in relation to a Greco-Roman context but instead was content to invoke a Jewish background. Similar to Vincent are the conclusions of C.K. Barrett,[4] C.E.B. Cranfield,[5] E. Käsemann[6] and L. Morris.[7] J.D.G. Dunn also recognizes the background as Jewish, but does not consider the title so much honorific as indicative of dedication. He concludes that 'slave of Christ' does not necessarily imply that Paul has placed himself in line with the great figures of Israel. Rather, the phrase expresses Paul's belonging to and dependence upon Christ in the same exclusive and unconditional way that ancient Israel had done in relation to God.[8]

1.1.2 Slave of Christ as an Adoption of Greco-Roman Imagery

Other scholars, however, favor the Greco-Roman background. P.T. O'Brien concludes that the phrase has no LXX (i.e. Jewish) background and that it was used to emphasize that Paul was at the "master's" disposal.[9] G.F. Hawthorne acknowledges the possibility of a LXX Background, but concludes that if one must choose between two formative environments, the Greco-Roman is the more plausible choice.[10] Gordon Fee also opted for a Greco-Roman background based on considerations of what the original reader would have understood. However, he also recognizes that an honorific motif from the LXX lies somewhere in the background. Fee suggests that a double connotation may be possible.[11]

These conflicting interpretations of the phrase 'slave of Christ' pose a problem for the exegesis of many of the texts containing slavery language. Because Paul has designated himself as a 'slave of Christ,' then it seems possible to consider other passages in which he uses slavery language in light of his own self-understanding as a slave. The difficulty, however, is against what background should the Pauline

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[3] Vincent 1897, 3.
[4] Barrett 1962, 15-16.
[5] Cranfield 1975, 50.
[6] Kässemann 1980, 5.
[7] Morris 1988, 37.
[8] Dunn 1988, 8-9.
[9] O'Brien 1991, 45.
[10] Hawthorne 1983, 5.
[11] Fee 1995, 63.

metaphor of slavery be interpreted and understood? The contrast between the Jewish and Greco-Roman backgrounds can easily lead toward two opposite directions.

1.2 History of Approaches to the Problem

A survey of scholarship surrounding the debate will illustrate the different approaches that have been taken to solve this problem. This will, accordingly, prepare the way for clarifying the approach that this thesis shall take in explaining the Pauline usage of metaphorical slave language and the background of the slave of Christ phrase.

1.2.2 The View of M.D.R Willink

In 1928, M.D.R. Willink suggested that the background for Paul's self-identification could be located in the *Ebed-Yahweh* theme associated with the history of Israel.[12] In general, Israel was identified as God's slaves. During times of humiliation and distress God provided Israel with special protection, which in turn made them God's slaves. More frequently, however, the phrase was "restricted to a few outstanding men occupying pivotal positions at turning points in history."[13] The greatest of all these "men of action" was the slave in Isaiah 40-55 whose future actions would be epoch making. Willink suggested that this setting in the Hebrew Bible formed a part of the background of Paul's title, but only a part. He argued that familiarity with the administrative duties of Imperial slaves in ancient Rome may have also have influenced Paul. Paul's readers may have associated his self-designation as 'slave' with the type of administration commonly undertaken by Imperial slaves. This in turn would have led them to understand Paul as an administrator on God's behalf. Thus, when Paul identifies himself as a slave of Christ he is "laying claim to a special place not only in the history of God's dealings with the world, but in the administration of His Church."[14]

Willink's hypothesis illustrates an appeal to both the Jewish and the Greco-Roman backgrounds and was influential on other scholars who later chose to explain the expression on such a basis. Unfortunately, the brevity of Willink's contribution (less than two pages) makes it difficult to evaluate properly. In general, he examines broad parallel images without offering any specific comparisons. Most of his effort is focused on the Jewish background, but his restriction of the phrase to a few "men of

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[12] Willink 1928, 46-47.
[13] Ibid., 47.
[14] Ibid.

action" seems to overlook the possibility that the motif was more widespread. In the end, his argument is little more than anecdotal. Furthermore, his identification of the Isaian slave of God as the "greatest example" implies that the motif reached a climax in the Isaian literature and thus diminishes the need to explore the wider Jewish context. Even so, he is representative of an approach later adopted by a number of scholars.

1.2.3 The View of Gerhard Sass

In 1941 Gerhard Sass also contended for a Jewish background to Paul's Slave of Christ phrase by concluding that it was derived from the LXX.[15] Examining the usage of δοῦλος in the LXX, Sass determined that the term underwent an etymological shift in which it became distinguished from the notion of slavery as a restrictive bondage. This separation from the institution itself made room for a development of a meaning that was theological in nature and denoted an idea of instrumentality rather than servitude. In this new sphere of meaning people were said to be chosen "instruments" in God's dealings in history. Sass posited that Paul adapted this motif from the LXX and, once God was replaced with Christ, Paul became the "instrument" of Christ. Thus, when Paul identified himself as a slave of Christ it was not in the sphere of unconditional subjection and servitude; rather, the designation should be understood as an honorific title given to only a few individuals entrusted by God with a special task.[16]

Sass's contribution is valuable because it demonstrates that language of enslavement did not necessarily indicate servitude.[17] Problematic, nonetheless, was the limited scope of his approach. By focusing on only particular individuals in the LXX, Sass overlooked the possibility that a more widespread motif was at work. His argument that 'slave of God' was an honorific title suggests that these individuals are being located in an elevated position rather than being considered as humble 'instruments' chosen by God. Moreover, the proposal that Paul replaced 'God' with 'Christ' implies that Christ, and Christ's 'instruments' at work in the church, are the apex of a developing tradition that used Jewish notions of slavery merely as a catalyst.

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[15] Sass 1941, 24-32.
[16] Ibid., 31-32.
[17] Sass is followed by Ollrog 1979, 75-76, 184 n. 108.

1.2.4 The View of Edwin Yamauchi

In 1966 Edwin Yamauchi suggested a background that was wider than the Hebrew Bible. His study addressed, in addition to the Hebrew Bible, the usage of slavery language in the wider Ancient Near East context.[18] Examining various texts and inscriptions, he demonstrated that the self-identifying title 'slave of god' was commonly used among several people groups (predominantly Semitic). Often coloring the phrase's meaning was a particular type of institutional slavery. The ancients, however, did not regard this notion of slavery as repulsive, but as a common way of identifying with the god(s) they worshipped. Similar to Willink and Sass, Yamauchi concluded the title was often used to describe figures of exceptional status. In the case of Paul and the NT, 'slave of Christ' is said to have drawn upon this common ANE heritage of identifying oneself as the slave of a god(s) and was further shaped by the institution of Greco-Roman slavery current in the first century. Slave of Christ, Yamauchi concluded, was an honorific title designating the humility and subjection of a slave to a sovereign.[19]

Yamauchi's contribution highlighted the need to look beyond the Hebrew Bible and to recognize that a wider motif was at work.[20] The drawback of his study, however, as with his predecessors, is the narrowness of his approach. By focusing almost exclusively on those texts and inscriptions that contained the phrase 'slave of god,' he was able to identify a wider distribution of the idea that people were slaves of the gods but did not explain how the theme may have developed. His treatment of the NT does not adequately explain how and why Paul decided to adopt the title.

1.2.5 The View of Kenneth C. Russell

In 1968 Kenneth C. Russell offered a comprehensive examination of slavery metaphors in the Bible. Russell determined that the notions of slavery to God and to Christ could be traced back to a tradition that developed within the framework of Israelite history and slavery institutions.[21] Russell concluded that the slavery to God motif was influenced by Israel's bondage in Egypt. The idea that God had become a

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[18] Yamauchi 1966, 31-49.
[19] Ibid., 48.
[20] C. Spicq also placed the phrase against the background of royal court ideology in the ANE. He suggested that the title placed Paul on level with Moses and other Israelite slaves of God especially the prophets (1966, 220).
[21] Russell 1968. Unfortunately Russell only published the second half of his dissertation, which consists of his examination of the NT but not the Hebrew bible and other Jewish literature. Special

special protector of Israel and they in turn God's slaves reflected ancient royal court language according to which subjects of the king were often called slaves. This royal ideology, in the context of the language and motif of slavery, was transferred to the people of Israel as a whole as well as to select individuals. The theme reached its zenith within the *Ebed-Yahweh* of Isaiah who, though humiliated and defeated, persevered in doing God's will and was subsequently raised to glory.[22] Russell went on to provide a cursory examination of the 'Apocrypha,' 'Pseudepigrapha,' Dead Sea Scrolls, and Rabbinic literature. In each of these bodies of literature he found little that differed from the Hebrew Bible and concluded that the Isaianic servant tradition, instead of being recast in new ways, remained 'vigorous and alive.'[23] In the NT, Russell contended that Paul transferred the servant theme, including the notions of suffering and humiliation, to Christ, himself, and others.[24] On this basis, Russell concluded that Paul and others were understood to be sharing in the humiliation and suffering of Christ, who was regarded as the ultimate example and fulfillment of Isaian servanthood. Combined with this Jewish tradition were the real images of institutional slavery that would have influenced the way slavery language in the NT was understood. The title of 'slave,' Russell concluded, never became purely honorific but worked in tandem with its secular antitype as a description of "a fundamental condition of complete dedication to the divine will."[25]

Russell represents a significant attempt to gain a wider understanding of the slave of God motif. His examination of numerous Jewish sources placed him in a position to sketch a picture of a developing tradition. Yet even with such a broad approach Russell is too narrowly focused. Initially he avoids this narrowness by examining slavery in a variety of aspects and not just those individuals who were identified by God as 'my slaves.' But his choice to regard the Isaian servant as the height of the motif's expression and as the governing framework for all subsequent slavery metaphors demonstrates otherwise. The reader is left suspecting that Russell started with a presupposition that Christ was the final development of the suffering

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thanks are offered to the Pontifical University Library, which allowed me to examine the unpublished section of Russell's thesis while on holiday in Rome with my wife.

[22] Unpublished section, 42-43.

[23] Ibid., 52-55.

[24] Russell 1968, 19, 28, 34.

[25] Ibid., 88. Similar to Russell is the more recent contribution of Murray Harris. Harris does not focus on the Isaian slave but his approach is a very broad examination of the entire NT and not just Paul. He concludes, that for Paul, slavery to Christ was not a title of honor but represented total devotion of believers available to their master (1999, 142-143).

servant tradition and then worked backwards. His assertion that this is how Paul arrived at his understanding of slavery to Christ seems to confirm that suspicion.[26] Overall, Russell's contribution represents a step in the right direction, but it also represents a missed opportunity as it resulted from an unnecessarily specific focus.

1.2.6 The View of Francis Lyall

Francis Lyall limited his approach to the background of Greco-Roman slavery.[27] His volume is an expansion of publications from the 1970's and 1980's in which he sought to correlate various legal metaphors in the NT with extant Roman laws.[28] Using the Roman legal system as a hermeneutical grid, he examined a variety of topics including slavery, citizenship, adoption, inheritance, and trade as they were regulated in Imperial Rome. Lyall surmised that because slavery was widespread in the first century Paul must have drawn upon such images in his letters. Slaves were considered the legal property of their owners, had no power over themselves, and were bound to do what their masters commanded. Thus when Paul identifies himself as the 'slave of Christ' it "indicates the extent of Paul's self-surrender to his master."[29]

Lyall seems to assume that if an echo of Roman law can be detected in a text, that the text should be interpreted in light of that law and its implications. This approach is problematic for two reasons. First, the primary source for Roman law is the *Digest of Justinian*, which was not published until 533 CE. The Digest is a compilation of legal excerpts from which all obsolete rulings had been excised and only those still relevant to 533 CE had been preserved.[30] While some laws in the *Digest* undoubtedly go back to the first century, many may also be missing. Though the relevance of the *Digest* for NT study cannot be dismissed out of hand, it is not necessarily an accurate indicator of what laws were in vogue in the first century.[31] It is quite possible that there were other laws that did not survive and could shed light on

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[26] Ibid., 28.
[27] Lyall, 1984.
[28] Ibid., 23.
[29] Ibid., 38.
[30] Bradley 1994, 20.
[31] In a private correspondence, Keith Bradley has indicated that it is difficult to determine what laws were in vogue in the various Roman provinces. The Romans only applied their laws to Roman citizens while non-Romans typically retained their own local rules. Provincial governors applied Roman law as part of their official duties, but how effectively and thoroughly are questions difficult to decide. Governors were under no compulsion to hear any particular cases and their writ ran large in the cities of the province. In rural areas, however, the laws seem to have been largely irrelevant and disputes were settled by customary patterns rather than anything else (Email November 10, 1999).

NT texts. Thus, while a picture of the legal situation of early Imperial Rome is very good, it is also inherently incomplete. Second, the use of legal texts to define the nature and practice of slavery is methodologically questionable. J.A. Harrill has, with good reason, cautioned: "legal codes, at best, provide only inexact knowledge about social practice and, at worst, can build a highly misleading model of slavery. Reading law codes as descriptive rather than prescriptive overlooks the course of juridical decisions in the practice of law (jurisprudence)."[32] Slavery laws were established in response to situations that required some type of legal control. Whether or not they actually mirror social practices and attitudes is debatable. Lyall's attempt to understand possible Greco-Roman influences on Paul is commendable. But the method of his approach is too narrowly focused.

1.2.7 The View of Dale B. Martin

Dale B. Martin has been the most recent advocate for a Greco-Roman background behind slavery in Paul and it is to an analysis of his 1990 monograph that we will devote considerable attention.[33] Martin sought to discover why early Christianity accepted the phrase 'slave of Christ' as a positive designation. Seemingly aware of the drawbacks caused by a methodology such as that used by Francis Lyall, Martin examined the function of Greco-Roman slavery from a socio-historical perspective focusing specifically on opinions of slavery that might be attributed to lower class citizens. He points out that slavery and slave language meant different things to different people, that the entire system was rather ambiguous, and that it did not matter as much that one was a slave, but whose slave one was. Of particular interest for Martin are managerial slaves who sometimes had the opportunity to move up the social ladder while still remaining slaves. This advancement in society was based upon the unique position of the managerial slave and the high status of the owner. Martin concluded that the opportunity managerial slaves had for upward mobility might have served as an inspiration of hope for the lower classes. Consequently, while those of higher status held slavery in a low esteem, lower status society would have regarded it in a positive light.

In early Christian usage, Martin suggests that 'slave of Christ' was a leadership title that denoted the authority of the leader as a slave representative of Christ. Using the managerial slave pattern, Martin explains Paul's self-designation of

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[32] Harrill 1995, 14.

slavery in 1 Corinthians 9. As Christ's managerial slave, Paul was able to bridge the disunity gap that, according to Martin, existed between the higher and lower class members in the church at Corinth. Martin suggests that parallels exist between Paul and Greco-Roman politicians who gained their authority by appealing to the masses. He argues that by using political speech, Paul was able to assert his authority in Corinth by deriving it not from the higher-class members, but from those of the lower-class. Paul's declaration that he was a slave would have shocked and perhaps offended the higher-class members of the church because he admitted that he was occupying the low position of a slave. On the other hand, this strategy would have appealed to the lower-class members who regarded him as a managerial slave of Christ. By casting himself this way, Paul presented himself to the higher-class members as a challenging example of how they should relate to others. To the lower-class, he embodied upward mobility and salvation through slavery to Christ.

Martin's work is valuable for the vast amount of information that he has been able to gather in defense of his position. The major weakness of the book, however, is its myopic focus on only one aspect of Paul's use of slavery metaphors. Martin hinders his approach to other slavery texts as a result of his investigation in 1 Corinthians. Furthermore, his attempt to build a plausibility structure is hampered by his inability to demonstrate certain presuppositions underlying his work.

Problematic in Martin's thesis is his attempt to portray slavery as an institution that provided an opportunity for upward mobility. Keith Bradley points out that the idea of slaves having a "class consciousness" of their own never developed in antiquity and that rather than admire the master's 'slave representative,' all slaves, regardless of their position, would have been competing for the support and favor of the master.[34] Bradley further notes that while some slaves were of higher rank and influence, this did not exempt them from the same type of abuse and maltreatment other slaves received.[35] Similarly, Richard A. Horsley doubts that the notion of upward mobility among slaves would have appealed to the unenslaved lower class Paul was addressing:

> It seems generally doubtful that the low status free population felt much solidarity with slaves, the very persons in the social order that defined them as at least freeborn. The very concept of upward mobility, of course, derives

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[33] Martin, 1990.
[34] Bradley 1994, 72-73.
[35] Ibid., 152.

> from an individualistic sociological worldview that accepts and presupposes the dominant social system (without fundamental critique let alone challenge) and then focuses on how individuals may be upwardly or downwardly mobile within it.[36]

One source Martin uses to support the claim of upward mobility among slaves is various funerary inscriptions of persons who had been either slaves or freed persons. Some of these inscriptions make reference to the person as having been a φιλοδέσποτος or a φιλόκυριος. Martin infers from these details that many slaves accepted their position in the structure of society and were willing to participate in slavery as a way to be honored or improve their social status.[37] This conclusion, however, contradicts earlier observations by Martin concerning funerary inscriptions. Reviewing a study of family funerary inscriptions by Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw,[38] Martin argues that, contrary to their conclusions, the inscriptions cannot be used as reliable indicators of the quality of personal relationships. He goes on to say:

> Contrary to the study's suggestion, inscriptions cannot be used, I believe, as reliable indicators of the quality of personal relationships. Inscriptions in the ancient world, as in our time, usually follow customary formats with predictable expressions. We have no way of knowing whether the sentiments expressed on the tombstone are actually the sentiments of the provider or even whether the very presence of the inscription indicates anything more than a social and not necessarily affectionate relationship between the persons named in the inscription.[39]

Martin provides no criteria for the acceptance of funerary inscriptions as a source of attitudes towards the institution among slaves, and his conflicting statements call into question the use of funerary inscriptions as an accurate indicator of social patterns. I.H. Combes and R.A. Horsley have also challenged Martin's use of these inscriptions, pointing out that they cannot be used as an indicator of a social mindset.[40]

These critical responses to Martin's claim about social patterns, if correct, make it difficult to accept his suggestion that slaves regarded managerial status as a

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[36]Horsley 1998, 175-76.
[37] Martin 1990, 28-29.
[38] Saller and Shaw 1984, 124-156.
[39] Martin 1990, 4.
[40] Combes 1998, 80; Horsley 1998, 175.

means to upward mobility.[41] Also perplexing is the lack of any examples of someone who voluntarily entered slavery for the express purpose of upward mobility.[42] If slavery provided a way to circumvent social structure, as Martin claims, then at least one example of this being practiced voluntarily would lend support to his claim.

Also problematic for Martin's thesis is his understanding of how the 'slave of Christ' title functioned. According to Martin, it was a designation of leadership, a claim supported by three references.[43] He connects Paul's self-designation as a 'slave of Christ' in Romans 1.1 with the description of the apostolic call in the same sentence. He argues that the phrase stands in apposition to the term 'apostle' and indicates leadership. Galatians 1.10 is also presented as evidence for this view. Although the reference to slavery does not appear in the same sentence as the apostolic term, Martin states that Paul's self-designation of enslavement is connected to the apostolic terminology in Galatians1.1 and emphasizes the divine authority of his leadership. Philippians 1.1 is also to be included because of Paul's portrayal of both himself and Timothy as slaves of Christ again without any use of the apostolic terminology.[44] Martin suggests that this depiction of leaders as slaves delineated those representing Christ as agents who wielded authority and could expect to be rewarded further with higher status, authority and power.[45] He concludes that as long as the hearer understood that the metaphor designated Christ as the 'god-founder' they would regard slavery under Christ as a sign of power.[46]

Martin's conclusion is overly synthetic. The most satisfactory explanation for the association of the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ with the apostolic title, if one may assume that the latter derived from the former, is probably best interpreted by regarding Paul's apostolic call as a result of his being a slave of Christ. Gordon Fee seems to suggest this when he notes that in Philippians 1.1 Timothy does not receive his usual designation of 'brother' but participates in the title of slave of Christ with Paul. This, according to Fee, is because at other times Timothy, as also Sosthenes in 1 Corinthians 1.1, is prevented from such participation by his lack of apostolic

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[41] Harrill is also unconvinced of the social structure that Martin attempts to set up and the idea of slavery providing honor or upward mobility. He sites the work of Orlando Patterson (Patterson [1982]) who argues the complete opposite conclusion of Martin (Harrill 1992, 426-427).
[42] Martin does provide some examples of self-enslavement (1990, 39-42 and 194-5) but none of these demonstrate self-enslavement as a means to upward mobility.
[43] Martin 1990, 51.
[44] Support is also sought in the disputed and general epistles (1990, 52-55).
[45] Ibid., 55.
[46] Ibid., 56.

office.[47] Because Paul is not using his apostolic leadership title in the Philippians greeting, Timothy is able to participate in the title because, while both are not apostles, both are slaves of Christ.

A further difficulty in Martin's conclusion is the fact that the concept of slavery to Christ as a leadership designation is not a developed theme in any of the NT literature. Martin recognizes this as such and says:

> Depicting leaders as slaves of Christ is nowhere defined or defended, which indicates that the language was an assumed and common element of the symbolic world of early Christianity.[48]

Martin's statement is special pleading in spite of the fact that there is no material basis for this assertion. An additional problem with his conclusion is the lack of consideration given to the way the 'slave of Christ' is used in conjunction with other believers. Martin acknowledges this type of usage but fails to show how it is used differently than the leadership designation.[49] He argues that those who were of a lower status in society would have viewed the opportunity to become slaves of Christ as a vehicle for upward mobility.[50] For them salvation would have been defined as a good master/bad master scenario in which they were free to choose the good master and improve their situation by relating to that master.[51]

Finally, as noted above, many commentators have suggested that the 'slave of Christ' title is a reflection of ANE religious and royal ideology and, more specifically, was adapted from descriptions of Israel's relationship with God. Martin acknowledges that the phrase certainly has an eastern origin and even suggests that it would have served as a vehicle to marginalize adherents of early Christianity living in a Greco-Roman society. But he also contends that one need not be content with talking about the origins and background of the metaphor. He finds the outline of the Greco-Roman slave structure more than adequate and dismisses any need for understanding the background and development of the slave of God/Christ tradition in a dynamic way.[52] Such an approach, however, overlooks the broader world of ideas that may have influenced Paul. If, as Martin concedes, the eastern aspects of early

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[47] Fee 1995, 62.
[48] Ibid., 55.
[49] Ibid., 60.
[50] Ibid., 63.
[51] Ibid., 62.

Christianity marginalized believers living in a Greco-Roman society, why does he not examine the motivation for people to accept these notions and thus marginalize themselves? Perhaps it is because this would indicate the direct opposite of his argument for upward mobility. If the title was an indicator of marginality, or even self-humiliation, a point Martin consistently argues against, then the case for social mobility is no longer viable.

In this evaluation of Martin's contribution: (1) His presentation of slavery as an opportunity for upward mobility is not convincing and lacks sufficient support. This undermines his argument that early Christians would have equated becoming a slave of Christ with a form of social improvement. (2) He is unable on the basis of NT texts to support the claim that slave of Christ was a leadership designation. Inability to provide evidence for this assertion deprives him of a convincing association of Paul with the notion of enslaved leaders acting as a managerial slave. (3) His apparent dismissal of a Jewish or at least an ANE background demonstrates that he has chosen to place Paul against only one possible world of ideas in order to support his argument for upward mobility. The overall weakness of Martin's thesis, as Dunn says, is its strength.[53] The narrow focus allows him to build his argument but it precludes any influence from a wider spectrum of ideas and fails to be tested sufficiently against other Pauline texts.

1.2.8 The View of Isobel A.H. Combes

In many ways the 1998 work of I.A.H. Combes represents a challenge to the methodology and conclusions reached by Martin.[54] Combes contends that a wider range of issues needs to be examined in order to determine how slavery language came to occupy an important part of early Christian theology. To achieve this she examines slavery language as it developed both in an historical and theological context beginning with the LXX and finishing with patristic literature. Combes says that religious metaphors are problematic because they require interpretation and the space between delivery and reception provides infinite opportunities for misunderstanding. Principles of faith handed down across time and culture risk ceasing to bear the same relevance when applied in a new cultural context.[55] In light of this, Combes suggests that interpretation requires a study of how the language

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[52] Ibid., 56-57.
[53] Dunn 1992, 325-326.
[54] Combes 1998.

developed in the past and of the way in which certain factors contributed to this development.[56] Christian descriptions of humanity's relationship with God are theological and have less to do with secular and political authority than with the direction of Christian theology.[57] The metaphor of slavery, according to Combes, pivots on the Christian 'Kerygma' and not on secular authority.[58]

Of particular interest for Combes is the way slavery metaphors operate as a description of one's relationship with God. According to Combes, Judaism seems to have been unique in its self-perception of being in a literal slave relationship with God. Those who worshiped God were, in the Hebrew mind, God's slaves, and those who worshiped other gods and idols were likewise slaves of these. "The Hellenic tradition on the other hand shows no sign of such a communal, literal slavery."[59] In societies contiguous to ancient Judaism, slavery to a deity was individualistic and normally associated with some type of service to a temple. A corporate concept of slavery in Judaism based as it was upon a division between human and divine slavery, prevented aspects of institutional slavery from interfering with the religious.[60] By retaining this distinction between human and divine slavery, it was possible for early Christians to also describe themselves in a slave relationship with God without excluding those who may have been slaves in a literal sense. It was also possible to avoid any contradiction between theological and secular perceptions of slavery. Theological concepts represented by institutional terms like salvation/ freedom and conversion/enslavement to God presented little problem once the division of human and divine slavery was retained.[61]

In examination of Paul, Combes rejects many of the previous interpretations. She is unsatisfied with a background derived from the LXX. She notes that the actual phrase 'slave of God' is rarely used and that the more common phrase is 'my slaves' which serves as an honorific title of distinction for select individuals. She argues that to trace Paul's expression 'slave of Christ' to the 'slave of God' theme in the LXX is to neglect the fact that nowhere does Paul actually call himself a 'slave of God.' "It is an inaccurate reflection of [Paul's] theology to think that he could simply have

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[55] Ibid., 11.
[56] Ibid., 12.
[57] Ibid., 14.
[58] Ibid., 15.
[59] Ibid., 44.
[60] Ibid., 48.
[61] Ibid., 69.

substituted χριστοῦ for θεοῦ. One certainly cannot find any Old Testament antecedents for the metaphor within his work."[62] She is similarly unsatisfied with the approaches of Martin and others who seek to place the metaphor in a Greco-Roman slavery context. Unconvinced by Martin's arguments for upward mobility, she observes generally that many attempts to interpret Paul in a legal context of slavery ultimately do not yield any convincing parallels.[63]

Combes' approach is based on the observation that Paul's slavery imagery has a strong correlation with the theme of death (e.g. Rom 6.6-7). Adopting Orlando Patterson's hypothesis that slavery is the equivalent of social death, Combes argues that when entering into slavery people die to their former life and are given a new one by their master. In the case of Paul, individuals who identify with Christ in baptism die to their old master (sin) and receive a new life as slaves of Christ. This, according to Combes, signifies that believers are "dead to the world and its priorities and are participants in the humiliation and crucifixion of Christ."[64]

The most significant aspect of Combes' contribution is her suggestion that the metaphor of slavery developed out of a particular social milieu but then took on a life of its own. Unfortunately, the large amount of material she examines and her concentration on patristic literature render any satisfactory treatment of NT texts impossible. More importantly, his argument for rejecting a Jewish background for 'slave of Christ' seems to reflect the same methodological problem of others who were unnecessarily specific. It also indicates a departure from her stated method of determining how the theme developed over time. Just because Paul did not call himself 'slave of God' does not necessarily mean that 'slave of Christ' did not develop from a previously established 'slave of God' tradition. Combes may be right to reject the notion that χριστοῦ replaced θεοῦ, but there may be other explanations for why Paul chose this phrase.[65] Nonetheless, many of Combes' observations are significant and will contribute to the approach taken in this thesis.

1.2.9 The View of Michael J. Brown

The most recent attempt to understand Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ is that of Michael J. Brown (2001). Brown focuses only on Paul's usage of the title in Romans 1.1. His approach is based on three presuppositions. First, following

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[62] Ibid., 79.
[63] Ibid., 79-87.
[64] Ibid., 87-89.

the work of Francis Lyall,[66] Brown concludes that Paul's understanding of slavery was fundamentally Roman, which would exclude a possible religious background.[67] Second, he argues that those individuals mentioned in Romans 16 are part of Caesar's house similar to those individuals in Philippians 4.2. Because many of the names in Romans 16 are possibly those of slaves or freed persons from the Imperial house, Brown concludes that Paul's readers would understand his title as 'slave' in the same way as they understood themselves as slaves in Caesar's house.[68] Third, he concludes that the congregation at Rome was made up entirely of Gentiles.[69] Based upon these three conclusions, Brown suggests that in Romans 1.1 Paul was using the term 'slave' in a technical manner. Slaves in the imperial household had a personal stake in promoting the Emperor under which they served. This was also Paul's concern and it is with this type of imagery that he aligns himself; Paul is a slave promoting the message of Christ.[70]

Brown's approach has several drawbacks. First, his examination of Romans 1.1 is overly narrow. Brown does not consider the title's function in 1 Corinthians 7.22, Galatians 1.10, and Philippians 1.1, all of which may shed light on how Paul understood and used the title in Romans. Second, his argument that the Roman congregation consisted of only Gentiles is problematic to his thesis.[71] He concedes that a Jewish presence would lend credence to the idea that Paul's use of the title was drawn from the Hebrew Bible and "would shift the preponderance of interpretive weight away from the Greco-Roman source."[72] Consequently, the presence of any Jews in the Roman congregation or the congregation's emergence from a Jewish background would, according to Brown's argument, undermine his hypothesis and lead to a consideration of a possible religious background for the title. Finally, Brown does not give any consideration of how Paul used slavery language elsewhere and how that usage may have influenced his own self-understanding. This leads to the conclusion that Brown's approach is too narrow and does not adequately explain how and why Paul decided to adopt the title.

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[65] § 10.3-5.
[66] See the analysis of Lyall above § 1.2.6.
[67] Brown, 2001, 729.
[68] Ibid., 724.
[69] Ibid., 730-31.
[70] Ibid., 735.
[71] For a discussion of the possible make up of the Roman congregation see Dunn 1988, xlv-liv.
[72] Brown 2001, 730.

1.2.10 Summary of Analysis

The above survey of scholarship addressing the interpretation of slavery metaphors in Pauline epistles makes it possible to summarize the current state of research:

First, no thoroughly convincing interpretation of the title 'slave of Christ' has been made on the basis of the Greco-Roman background. This approach tends to interpret the phrase exclusively from a perspective that explores possible parallels between institutional slavery and metaphorical slave language in Pauline texts. Proponents of the Greco-Roman background usually overlook or reject any religious background that might help to indicate how the phrase originated and why it was theologically meaningful to early Christians. Even interpreters who support this approach to the question and recognize a possible religious background inevitably allow institutional rather than religious aspects to determine the direction of their exegesis. The acknowledgement by many scholars that the 'slave of Christ' title derives from royal and religious ideology in the ANE and, more specifically, the traditions surrounding Israel in the Hebrew Bible suggests that a Jewish background deserves more attention and may be the more viable of the two options.

Second, those who have contended for a Jewish background by finding the antecedents of the phrase in the Hebrew Bible/LXX have generally neglected the larger context of Jewish self-understanding as it was developing in the Second Temple period. While tracing a common theme is vital to understanding the notion of enslavement to God, and eventually to Christ, an established development from the Hebrew Bible/LXX showing how Paul may have identified with early Jewish self-understanding is lacking. Furthermore, the tendency of some scholars to focus on the Isaian servant as the climax of a developing theme or on a few 'significant individuals' is overly limited in scope. The implication of this suggestion is that Paul represents the apex of a developing tradition. This risks alienating Paul from his wider Jewish context, reduces Jewish notions of slavery to having functioned merely as catalyst for Christianity, and fails to consider properly the tradition as a separate and continuously developing phenomenon in Judaism. Consequently, while a Jewish background may be the best explanation for the phrase, there is a need to explore the larger issues of the Jewish self-understanding of enslavement to God in all its variegated forms.

1.3 The Approach Taken in This Thesis

The most effective method of interpretation thus far seems to be the argument by Combes that the slavery metaphor took on a life of its own and developed separately from the society in which it was used. The value of this development for the user is, as Combes states, that religious language becomes disentangled from the need at every corner to seek social relevance and understanding. Where a metaphor articulates theology effectively, only the basic knowledge of the reality it draws on is needed.[73]

Janet Soskice has also provided valuable insights into the interpretation of religious metaphors. She contends that: "When an individual, or the wider religious community, decides upon a particular model or image as a means of elucidating experience, pointed or diffused, they do so as heirs to an established tradition of explanation and a common descriptive vocabulary[74]. . . To say that God is King recalls a whole history of kingship and insubordination in the biblical texts."[75] Soskice further suggests that because of the long history of usage religious metaphors undergo over the centuries, they become more than a simple metaphor; they are emblematic. When combined with the methodology employed by Combes, Soskice's statements strengthen the hypothesis that slavery metaphors took on a life of their own by virtue of a theological development. Apart from the most basic meaning needed for understanding, slavery metaphors could operate independently from any immediate expression in society.

Due to the significant function of slavery as a religious metaphor in ancient Israel and early Judaism, this thesis will seek to locate the NT 'slave of Christ' motif as one of many developments of the Jewish slave of God motif. In consideration of the conclusions of Combes and Soskice, it is suggested here that the notion of enslavement to God became emblematic in Judaism. This implies, consequently, that the phrase 'slave of God' does not need to be interpreted exclusively against the background of secular institutional slavery in order to discover a Jewish self-

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[73] Combes 1998, 171-72.

[74] Soskice 1985, 150. Continuing her contention that religious language is a result of tradition she also says: "The use of "spirit" is one (metaphor) which sits in a particular context and tradition; its sense is not given by rigid definition, but by considering the way in which the term is variously used in the community and the tradition, and importantly, the way it is used in Christian sacred texts. This is so much so that if someone wished to understand the sense of "God is Spirit" one might do well to say to him, "Read the Bible!" (1985, 153-54).

[75] Ibid., 158.

understanding. While the phrase undoubtedly had some early identification that had arisen out of the institution, the more important aspects of the phrase's subsequent development were the factors that helped to mold it into an emblem of theological identification for the Jewish nation.[76] This is the role of tradition history, which seeks to determine how the interpretation of an event took on paradigmatic significance for Israel and, later, for early Judaism. W.E. Rast has noted that an examination of tradition history in the context of Israel's understanding of its history marks an invitation to see the continuing activity of God in each new present. "The task of traditio-historical analysis is to follow this step by step process, all the while recognizing that such processes were carried out under a deep faith in the continuing work of God with Israel."[77] D.A. Knight has indicated that a tradition is often 'living' because it is developing, adaptable, and capable of being changed and reinterpreted to meet the needs of its transmitters. Such traditions are often cumulative and agglomerative; they are the property of a group or community for whom they have immediate relevance.[78] If the conclusions of Rast and Knight are accepted, then a traditio-historical assessment of the slave of God tradition in Judaism should go well beyond an examination of the secular role of slavery institutions.[79] It is, as Combes and Soskice have argued, the study of a theological statement, operating separately from society, that is important for an interpretation of the metaphor.

This method of interpreting the metaphor in light of tradition history should also be applied to the context of early Christianity. As indicated above, it is commonly accepted that the Jewish notion of slavery to God was adopted and recast by early Christians in the form of slavery to Christ. Therefore, an approach to understanding the meaning of the phrase in Pauline literature should consist of an

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[76] I have chosen to follow Soskice and use the term *emblem* rather than *symbol*. *Symbol* is often defined as something that represents something else either by association or resemblance. *Emblem*, on the other hand, while similar to a symbol, evokes the idea of a distinctive badge. I believe that because slavery to God became an intricate part of Jewish self-understanding, it became an *emblem* that helped to show a perception of a distinctive relationship with God. Consequently, while some resemblance of institutional slavery may be found in this self-understanding, the development of the concept in theology untangled it from the institution and became a badge by which Jews identified themselves in relation to the rest of the world.

[77] Rast 1972, 73.

[78] Knight 1975, 26. See also Harrelson 1977.

[79] This means that although the motif may have developed from an early identification with the institution it is impossible to determine how the theology may have related to the institution as Judaism's concept of the phrase developed. This does not mean, however, that aspects of the institution may not have found expression in the theological development. The tradition is the property of the community and any aspect of the secular which helps explain the religious can be easily adapted to fit the needs of the community without being bound to the larger image of the institution.

examination from the standpoint of tradition history. This approach is necessary because the slavery theme is a reflection of a theological self-understanding that developed from the larger context of Judaism and influenced Christianity. By examining the development of the tradition between the Hebrew Bible/LXX and the writings of Paul, it is possible to trace not only a genetic link, but also how Paul interacted with his contemporaries as they attempted to interpret the Jewish self-understanding of enslavement to God.

Many studies of Paul's usage of slavery language (from a Jewish context) begin with Paul and work backwards into the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. On the one hand, it is impossible to do anything else because the basis of the study is Paul. It is undesirable, however, because this approach tends to squeeze early Jewish data into the mold of Pauline concepts and motifs. This results in a possible distortion of early Jewish texts that have been interpreted in light of the established categories of Pauline studies. The methodology of this thesis seeks to overcome the impediments of such an approach by exploring slavery metaphors as a separate phenomenon within Judaism. The advantage of this approach is that it is not restricted to those Jewish texts that are relevant only for the study of Paul. Thus the task of tracing the source and development of the slave of God/Christ tradition is separated into two parts. Part One is an examination of enslavement to God solely from a Jewish perspective while Part Two examines the motif as it appears in the Pauline epistles.

Part One consists of a survey of slavery terms in early Jewish literature extant in Greek.[80] The purpose of the survey is to determine what terms were used to describe various aspects of slavery, both institutional and metaphorical, and how those terms functioned within their respective contexts. This is followed by an examination of ancient Israelite traditions which reveals how the slavery to God motif received its original form under the institution, but went on to develop into an ideology no longer necessarily anchored in and shaped by the institution. Early Jewish literature is then examined in order to demonstrate the way that the tradition continued to develop. A particular focus is devoted to how various authors defined slavery to God in response to diverse events and social contexts. Part One concludes

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[80] Because the focus of the investigation in Part Two is on Greek slave terms used by Paul, the investigation in Part One is, for the most part, limited to early Jewish literature extant in Greek.

with a summary demonstrating that slavery to God was not restricted to a few select individuals and that it was a motif undergoing continual development.

Part Two begins with an examination of slavery language as used by Paul. This is followed by an exegetical study of those Pauline epistles in which slavery terms occur and includes a consideration and critique of scholarly interpretations. Rather than restrict the examination to a myopic consideration of Paul's 'slave of Christ' title, Part Two is an attempt to understand the title within the framework of Paul's wider usage of slavery language. The goal is to provide an informative context for Paul's own usage of slavery terms and to suggest how that context may have influenced his own self-understanding as a slave of Christ. Such an approach will also enable us to determine to what degree Pauline developments in usage and function are similar or dissimilar to his Jewish contemporaries. Following the examination of Paul, the development and function of the motif in parts One and Two are compared and contrasted to demonstrate that Paul, as a slave of Christ, is not at the apex of a developing tradition but rather is participating in a broader discussion among Jewish contemporaries about what it means to be a slave of God.

Part One

Slave of God Traditions in Early Judaism

Chapter 2

The Language of Enslavement in Jewish Literature Extant in Greek

Before focusing on the motif of Jews as the slaves of God, it is necessary to demonstrate first what terminology various Jewish authors used to convey the idea of slavery to their readers. This can be done through a general survey of Jewish literature from the Second Temple period extant in Greek. Determining what slavery terms were used by the authors and how these terms functioned will set up the parameters for the investigation and help to construct a working definition of slavery as it is represented in the Jewish literature of the period.

2.1 Slavery Language in the LXX

Examination of slavery language begins with the LXX. Because the LXX is a Greek translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, the analysis will not only consider Greek slavery terms but also how the LXX translated Hebrew slave terminology into Greek.[1] Such an approach allows the underlying Hebrew text to be 'read' through the LXX and provides an indication of how the translators interpreted the Hebrew.

The Hebrew slavery term עבד occurs 807 times in the MT.[2] In the LXX עבד is translated by the following Greek terms: παῖς (παιδίον, παιδάριον) 340 times; δοῦλος (δουλεία, δουλεύων) 327 times; οἰκέτης 36 times; θεράπων (θεραπεία, θεραπεύων) 46 times; υἱός once; ὑπηρέτης once.[3] All of these terms are used synonymously and interchangeably without any identifiable translation strategy. This is consistent with the conclusions reached by Walther Zimmerli and Benjamin G. Wright who examined the translation of slave terminology in the LXX.[4] Zimmerli and Wright's contributions are invaluable, but their analyses are restricted to the translation of nouns and do not consider verbs. While these studies have contributed to an understanding of translation practices they do not shed light on an understanding

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[1] Both the MT and the LXX are text traditions and should, in principle, be distinguished from an 'original text.' Nevertheless, while allowing the analysis to take textual variants into account, this study begins with statistics available from the text traditions.

[2] The term appears 800 times in Hebrew and 7 times in Aramaic. Variations in the statistics will occur depending upon what version of the Jewish-Greek bible is consulted.

[3] There are another 56 instances where there is either no equivalent or the word is misunderstood and rendered freely. The statistics are adopted from the study undertaken by Walther Zimmerli but have been confirmed by re-examination. (Zimmerli 1967, 654-717).

[4] Zimmerli 1967, 673-77; Wright 1998, 90-97.

of how the language functioned. The analysis below incorporates the works of Zimmerli and Wright but also considers the translation and usage of verbs, as well as the context in which the language functioned. Drawing on Zimmerli's 'three layers of translation' (cf. below), the approach adopted here is organized synthetically. This provides an adjustable framework within which to explore the translation strategy, on the one hand, and, more significantly, the way slavery language functioned, on the other.[5]

2.1.1 Layer One: Genesis to Joshua

Layer one is found in the Hexateuch with each of the six books containing a mixture of distinctive terms.[6] The uniting feature of this layer is the extremely limited usage of δοῦλος. Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus do not use the substantive δοῦλος while the remaining three books prefer a variety of terms other than δοῦλος.[7] Zimmerli suggested that the infrequency of δοῦλος meant that it was only used in cases of especially severe bondage.[8] Wright believes that Zimmerli has overstated these differences, however, and correctly points out that it is difficult at times to distinguish between the use of παῖς and δοῦλος.[9]

It is interesting, however, that when occurrences of the abstract form δουλεία[10] are also considered, the term almost always describes the position of the Israelites in Egypt. Of the thirteen times δουλεία occurs in the Hexateuch only two are not related to Israel in Egypt.[11] In Genesis 30.26 it describes Jacob's work relationship with Laban and in Leviticus 25.39 it describes the type of restrictive and severe slavery that is forbidden between fellow Israelites. This may suggest that when slavery is described in the Hexateuch by δουλεία, it denotes Israel's position in Egypt. Thus Jacob's service to Laban and forbidden practices of slavery among Israelites (c.f. Lev 25.45) are compared to Israel's period of slavery in Egypt through a common terminology.

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[5] Wright also takes a similar approach in his analysis.
[6] In Genesis παῖς is the preferred translation of עבד along with a few minor occurrences οἰκέτης. In Exodus, however, θεράπων is the preferred translation with a few instances of both παῖς and οἰκέτης. The remaining four books of the Hexateuch contain a mixture of the terms found in Genesis and Exodus. Leviticus uses παῖς and οἰκέτης while Numbers uses θεράπων and παῖς and both Deuteronomy and Joshua use παῖς, οἰκέτης and θεράπων.
[7] There are only 5 occurrences of the substantive δοῦλος in layer one (Lev. 25.44; 26.13; Deut 32.36; Josh 9.23; 24.29).
[8] Zimmerli 1967,674.
[9] C.f. Leviticus 39-44 where παῖς, οἰκέτης, and δοῦλος are all used interchangeably (Wright 1998, 90).
[10] Δουλεία is an abstract substantive of δοῦλος used to describe the collective sense of slavery.

2. *The Language of Enslavement*

When the five occurrences of substantive δοῦλος are reconsidered in light of the usage of δουλέια, three of the five do seem to confirm Zimmerli's conclusion. Leviticus 25.44, for instance, designates that the δοῦλοι of Israelites are to be only those of foreign descent. Leviticus 26.13, on the other hand, forbids Israelites from becoming the δοῦλοι of foreigners based on their release from δουλεία in Egypt. In Joshua 9.23 the deceptive Gibeonites become δοῦλοι who serve in the Israelite Tabernacle. In all three cases the terminology distinguishes a type of slavery reserved only for non-Israelites. The remaining two cases in Deuteronomy 32.36 and Joshua 24.29 are examples of δοῦλος being used to describe the Israelites and Joshua as enslaved to God. These are unique occurrences evidenced by the fact that the Hexateuch does not use δοῦλος anywhere else to describe the Israelites' relationship to God preferring to use παῖς, οἰκέτης and θεράπων instead. Zimmerli suggested that the usage of δοῦλος in a religious context in Deuteronomy 32.36 was the result of a later hand. [12] This seems plausible in light of the remarkable consistency with which layer one translators avoided this term and could also be applied to the similar occurrence in Joshua 24.29 as well.

It seems, then, that some LXX translators in the Hexateuch chose to reserve δοῦλος and δουλέια for descriptions of the type of slavery Israel experienced in Egypt. These translators also used these terms for any other situations which they considered to be of comparable circumstances including the enslavement of non-Israelites.

A. *Verbs Describing Slavery in Layer One*

The reticence to use the δοῦλος word group in relation to Israel also occurs in relation to verbs. In the Hexateuch δουλεύειν can indicate service to a foreign king (Gen 14.4), an individual (Gen 25.23; Ex 21.2, 6; Deut 15.12,18; Lev 25.39), to the Egyptians (Gen 15.13, 14; Ex 14.5; 12), and even to other gods (Ex 23.33; Deut 28.64). The performance of a slave's service in relation to the God of Israel, however, is usually translated with λατρεύειν rather than δουλεύειν.[13] In general, layer one avoids δουλεύειν when describing aspects of worship and service to the deity opting instead for λατρεύειν.[14] If the translators' avoidance of the

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[11] Gen 30.26; Ex 6.6; 13.3, 14; 20.2; Lev 25.39; 25.45; Deut 5.6; 6.12; 7.8; 8.14; 13.5, 10.
[12] Zimmerli 1967, 674.
[13] See Deut 13.4 where a variant does use δουλεύειν but this is a singular occurrence.
[14] Note the very unusual occurrence of λατρεύειν in Deuteronomy 28.28 to describe Israel's slave service to their enemies.

δοῦλος/δουλέια group resulted from a perception associated with a particular type of slavery it may have also influenced the translations of verbs. While this is possible, it is still unclear the exact reasons why translators of the Hexateuch avoided δοῦλος. Perhaps, as Wright reasons, "these translators considered the term derogatory or insulting in a way that the others were not."[15] This would support the suggestion offered here that δοῦλος/δουλέια was reserved for non-Israelite slavery. But without knowing the particulars of how the LXX was translated and compiled it is impossible to offer any firm conclusion.

B. *The Function of Slavery Language in Layer One*

When layer one is examined according to the function of the language rather than translation strategies, determining how the terms were used with any certainty becomes ambiguous. There is very little usage of slavery language in layer one, or in the whole Hebrew Bible for that matter, which actually prescribes how the institution functioned.[16] Indeed, there seems to be relatively little interest in the discussion of slaves and more of an interest in applying the language of slavery to *other* circumstances. The language is used in a variety of situations and it is difficult at times to determine what type of relationship it is intended to portray. For instance, Joseph is called a slave (ὁ παῖς ὁ Εβραῖος Gen 39.17), as are the officials who advise Pharaoh (παίδων αὐτοῦ Gen 41.37). While comparable terminology is employed, it seems clear from the context that the situations of slavery are not analogous. Joseph is a slave in prison; Pharaoh's slaves are his advisors. A similar usage of terms occurs when Joseph's brothers meet him in Egypt. They address themselves to Joseph as his slaves, but they are also afraid of being made his slaves (παίδων σου . . . ἐσόμεθα παῖδες τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Gen 44.9, 16, 33). Although the brothers called themselves 'slaves' they were also aware of some other type of 'slavery' that Joseph could enforce upon them. Once again the terminology is similar but the connotations are perceptibly different. The same terms have the ability to reflect two different circumstances of slavery.

A common usage of slavery language was in the context of polite speech and in the way that subordinates are differentiated from their superiors. Thus Abraham is called a slave by his visitors (Αβρααμ παιδός μου Gen 18.17). Esau is the slave of Jacob (ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις Gen 27.40), but Jacob calls himself the slave of Esau

[15] Wright 1998, 93.

(παιδός σου Ιακωβ Gen 32.18). The Israelite foremen are the slaves of Pharaoh (σοῖς οἰκέταις Ex 5.15), Moses is the slave of God (ὁ θεράπων μου Μωυσῆς Num 12.7), and those who are under Moses call themselves his slaves (παῖδές σου Num 31.49; 32.4, 5, 27). It is difficult to view these passages as indications that all or any of these individuals were in a position of restricted enslavement. The association of slavery language with the individual was a way to describe one who was willingly available and at the service of someone in authority but not necessarily in bondage to the authority. In a rhetorical manner, those in a position of authority deserve the same type of respect a slave would give a master. These individuals are slaves to one another in a way that emphasizes, whether in actuality or rhetorically, a subordinate status. The terminology is flexible and refers to a variety of situations and does not necessarily reflect on a person's role as a slave within an institutional setting.

2.1.2 Layer Two: Judges – 2 Kings

If layer one may be delineated by its variety of slavery terms, layer two may be characterized by a lack of variety. While the Hexateuch often avoided the use of the δοῦλος word group, Judges – 2 Kings translates עבד with only παῖς and δοῦλος. Zimmerli suggested that παῖς was used only to indicate freer servants of the king who entered voluntarily into service while δοῦλος designated slavery proper as in an enforced vassal.[17] Wright demonstrates, however, the difficulty in drawing such a sharp distinction.[18] For instance, in 1 Samuel 16.15-16 both παῖς and δοῦλος are used to describe the same individuals who act as advisers to Saul. In 2 Samuel 10.2 the same terms are again used interchangeably, this time to describe David's ambassadors. In 2 Kings 5.25-26 δοῦλος is the self-designation of Elisha's assistant while παῖς is used to describe chattel slaves. It is interesting, however, that layer two never uses παῖς in a religious context. Only δοῦλος is used to describe slavery to God. The reason for this is not clear and synonymity of the terms in this layer makes it difficult to conclude anything other than a preference of the translators for unknown reasons. Thus while παῖς is the preferred term used to describe those in the service

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[16] The only prescriptive passages are in Ex 21.1-11, 26-27, 31; Lev 25.39-43; and Deut 15.12-18.
[17] In those case where δοῦλος occurs in association with a great figure of Israel's history, Zimmerli concluded that the translator was trying to show that these men were not to be understood after the pattern of kingly ministers (παῖς), but after a menial servant (δοῦλος). This may be a bit of an overstatement on the part of Zimmerli as there are some instances in which both παῖς and δοῦλος appear as synonyms within a single sentence. However, he is correct that δοῦλος is the more prominent of the two terms (Zimmerli, 1967, 674).
[18] Wright 1998, 95.

of the king it may be suggested along with Wright that Zimmerli's distinction applies generally to the understanding that both terms tend to overlap in meaning.[19] The only clear exception is an avoidance of παῖς in a religious context.

A. *Verbs Describing Slavery in Layer Two*

Analysis of verbs describing slavery reveals that δουλεύειν predominates while the use of λατρεύειν is rather limited. In Judges λατρεύειν occurs nine times and consistently refers to the worship of other gods with the exception of 10.16 for worship of the Lord (2.11, 13, 19; 3.6-7; 10.6, 10, 13).[20] In 2 Samuel 15.8 it is again associated with worship of the Lord, but in 2 Kings the remaining five occurrences revert to describing Israel's worship of other gods (17.12, 16, 33, 35). A preference for λατρεύειν as a description of unorthodox worship does not seem to explain how the term functions as evidenced by a similar usage of δουλεύειν to describe the worship of both the Lord and other gods.[21] Δουλεύειν is used to describe a slave type service provided to a king (2 Kings 16.19; 3 Kings 12.4, 7, 24), the obligations of a conquered enemy (1 Kings 4.9; 11.1; 17.9; 2 Kings 10.19; 22.44; 3 Kings 4.21), and the service of a king to his people (3 Kings 16.31). Thus δουλεύειν is preferred, and λατρεύειν is a rarely used synonym.

B. *The Function of Slavery Language in Layer Two*

The function of the language in layer two is similar to that of layer one. Anyone can be the slave of someone else, but the idea of a restricted type of enslavement is not always clear. In addition to describing those who are chattel slaves (1 Sam 8.15-17; 30.13; 2 Sam 8.14; 9.10; 1 Kings 2.39 [3.1]; 2 Kings 4.1) the language also occurs in polite speech forms used to address a king or to God and is often used to describe those in relation to them. Thus the people a king governs are his slaves (1 Sam 8.17; 1kings 12.7), as are his advisors/ministers (1 Sam 21.14; 22.7; 2 Sam 10.2; 1 Kings 15.18), his soldiers (2 Sam 2.15; 11.9 13; 1 Kings 16.9), and even members of his own family (1 Kings 1.19, 26, 51). A king can even be the slave of his own subjects (1 Kings 12.7). The conquered enemies of a king become his slaves (2 Sam 8.2, 6, 14) and he in turn can become the slave of another king (2 Kings 24.1). Prophets are slaves of the god they represent (1 Sam 3.9-10; 2 Kings 9.7; 14.25; 18.26). Worshippers are also the slaves of their god (1 Sam 3.9-10; 1 Kings

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[19] Ibid., 96.

[20] In Judges 10 all four occurrences of λατρεύειν are changed to δουλεύειν in text family 'B'.

3.6-9; 2 Kings 9.19-23) and of the prophet represented by the god (2 Kings 5.15; 6.3; 8.13).

Slavery language in layer two is thus flexible and, like layer one, does not always convey the notion of bondage but rather a relationship of obligation, obedience and respect between two unequal parties. Those of lower status or authority in a position requiring benefaction and protection are sometimes designated as slaves either by their superiors or as part of a respectful self-designation.

2.1.3 Layer Three: Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Wisdom and the Prophets

If preferred terminology and usage of that terminology can delineate layers one and two, layer three may be delineated by the absence of any apparent preferences. The result is a conglomeration of terms that do not necessarily indicate any apparent inclination for one term over another.[22] For instance, 1 and 2 Chronicles prefers παῖς over δοῦλος, uses them synonymously and, unlike layer two, routinely uses παῖς in a religious context. 1 and 2 Chronicles uses δουλεύειν in the same manner as layer two, but also contains the only occurrence of λατρεύειν in this layer which again is used in association with the worship of other gods.[23]

In the Wisdom literature Psalms and Ecclesiastes prefer δοῦλος with only four occurrences of παῖς all of which are located in the Psalms (17.18; 68 (69). 17). Job, however, prefers θεράπων and Proverbs οἰκέτης.

Isaiah uses both terms with a preference for παῖς, as is also the case with Jeremiah. Ezekiel uses both terms but prefers δοῦλος. The Minor Prophets only use δοῦλος. All of the Prophets use δουλεύειν to varying degrees and in a manner consistent with layer two and 1 and 2 Chronicles. The majority of the slave language used in layer three is in the context of polite speech and religious discourse.

A. *The Function of Slavery Language in Layer Three*

The function of the language in layer three is similar to layers one and two. Those in restricted bondage (1 Chr 2.34; Neh 5.5; Isa 14.2), ministers/advisors of a king (1 Chr 19.2-4; Neh 2.10; Jer 21.7), those governed by the king (2 Chr 10.4), and those conquered by a king (Ezra 9.9) are all designated as slaves. Persons are the

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[21] 1 Samuel 2.24; 7.3-4; 8.8; 12.10, 14, 20, 23-24; 26.19; 1 Kings 9.6, 9; 16.31; 22.54; 2 Kings 10.18; 17.41; 21.3.

[22] This is also the conclusion of Zimmerli (1967, 675) and Wright (1998, 96).

[23] It is also found in Ezekiel 20.32 in association with the worship of other gods (wood and stone), but it is not a translation of עבד.

slaves of God (Ezra 5.11), as are prophets, patriarchs (2 Chr 2.42; Neh 1.8; Amos 3.7), and entire nations (Neh 1.10; Isa 45.4). They can also be the slaves of gods other than the Lord (2 Chr 7.22; Jer 5.19). Cultic work carried out in the Temple is a form of slavery (2 Chr 10.4; Ezra 6.18; 8.20; 10.32, 38) as is Nebuchadnezzar's labor of laying siege against Tyre (Ezk 29.18, 20). Again, the terminology is flexible and not limited to an understanding of slavery as bondage.[24] Anyone can be the slave of someone else, perform service in the same obedient respectful manner of a slave, but not be considered to be in bondage to the object of slavery.

2.1.4 Summary of Slavery Language in the LXX

Besides describing the position of those who served as slaves in Israelite society, slavery language was commonly used in the context of royalty and religion. All three 'layers' of the LXX are consistent in their usage of the language to portray a relationship between an authority figure and a subordinate. The most that should be concluded from the above review of vocabulary and its function is that the adoption of slavery language was based upon the simple notion that some relationships involve the submission of one person to another. The language is extremely flexible and provides no indication of how the terminology was interpreted in light of institutional slavery. The imagery of subordination and obedience is the most basic premise of slavery and would have easily lent itself to relationships involving kings, deities and any other similarly constructed relationship. Consequently, those involved in royal service may refer to themselves metaphorically as 'slaves' of the king as a form of polite language, but do not necessarily mean that they are in a slavish type of bondage to him. Likewise, those identified as slaves of a deity are not considered in bondage merely because they worship a particular god. Both situations are a reflection of the position that a slave holds in the presence of the master's authority and conveniently translates into a common image that portrays subordination to authority.

[24] The majority of the slave language used in layer three is used in the context of polite speech and religious discourse.

2.2 Slavery Language in Early Jewish Literature[25]

The occurrence and usage of slavery terms in early Jewish literature may be compared to layer three of the LXX. A variety of terms are used and seem to be determined by an author's particular preference. For instance, 1 Baruch prefers παῖς but uses δοῦλος twice (1.12; 4.32). Tobit uses οἰκέτης twice and παῖς once (8.18; 9.2; 10.10). Ben-Sira prefers οἰκέτης but also has three occurrences from the δοῦλος group (2.1; 3.7; 25.8). 1 Esdras uses παῖς, οἰκέτης and δοῦλος. Wisdom of Solomon, on the other hand, prefers παῖς but also uses δοῦλος and θεράπων.[26] *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*T. 12 Patr.*) uses both παῖς and δοῦλος as do 1-2 Maccabees, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* (*Par. Jer.*), and the *Psalms of Solomon.*[27]

Also similar to layer three of the LXX is the lack of a unified strategy of how the language should be employed. Slavery terms are sometimes commingled in a way that allows the author to describe servile conditions while using a variety of terms in the same document or even within a single sentence. For instance, Judith uses both παῖς and δοῦλος to describe the same group of people (3.2-3.4). In the *T. Abraham*, Abraham's slaves are called δοῦλοι in 15.5 and then παῖδες in 15.6. In *T. Joseph*, Joseph is a παῖς in 13.1 but in 13.7 he is a δοῦλος. In the *Psalms of Solomon* those who are God's slaves may be called either παῖδες (12.6; 17.21) or δούλοι (2.37; 10.4)[28] as is also the case in *Par Jer.* (1.4; 6.22). In the *T. Job*, however, the slave of God is called θεράπων (4.2; 37.8; 42.5). In Ben-Sira the same slavery term (δουλεύειν) can be used to describe service rendered to God (2.1) parents (3.7) and masters (25.8). All of these terms are used synonymously and interchangeably depending upon the preference of the particular author. It is not possible to make any clear distinction between terms by the way they are used in the literature.

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[25] This includes those writings usually contained in the so-called 'Apocrypha' and 'Pseudepigrapha' but does not suggest that this varied literature is internally consistent as a group. Questions surrounding the Christianzation of some of these works (e.g. *Par. Jer.* and *T. 12 Patr.*) do not hinder the analysis of slavery language. The issue of Christian influence and interpolations will be addressed below where these works are examined more comprehensively. The works of Josephus and Philo are examined separately.

[26] Many of the occurrences of the παῖς word group in Wisdom are better translated as "Child" rather than "Slave" based upon the surrounding context of the passages. See Wright's analysis and conclusion (1998, 105-107).

[27] This analysis is based upon my own investigation but can be corroborated with the recent analysis of Wright whose article was not available at the time of my initial work (1998, 105-107).

[28] Wright suggests that Psalms of Solomon may witness a distinction between παῖς and δοῦλος in such a way that individuals are called δοῦλος and Israel is called παῖς (1998, 106). This is difficult to analyze, however, because if Wright's conclusion were accurate it would be the only such case of distinction being made between slavery terms in early Jewish literature. Without another example of this distinction to compare with the *Psalms of Solomon*, it is only a conjecture.

2.2.1 Captivity Language as a Conceptual Synonym for Slavery

Reflected in the early Jewish literature is the experience and influence of the Babylonian exile by the frequent occurrence of the captivity term, αἰχμάλωτος.[29] While the term is not part of the traditional grouping of slavery language, it does have a close affinity. In Judith 8.22-23 and 1 Maccabees 1.9-11, for instance, αἰχμάλωτος is used in tandem with slavery terminology in a way that suggests they are synonymous at least on a conceptual level. The *Testaments of Levi* (10.4; 15.2; 17.9), *Judah* (23.4-5), *Issachar* (6.3), and *Naphtali* (4.2) each use αἰχμάλωτος, δοῦλος or both in tandem as a way to describe the consequences of disobedience towards God. This tendency to group the terms together indicates that captivity was often associated with slavery and that language and themes of captivity in this literature should be examined in conjunction with slavery.

2.2.2 The Function of Slavery Language in Early Jewish Literature

Functionally, slavery terminology is used in much the same way as in the LXX. The terms describe those who are part of the institution of slavery, those who identify themselves as slaves to kings in polite speech forms, and to identify themselves with a particular deity. An important development in some of this literature, however, is the idea of enslavement to passions. Willingness to sin is defined as becoming enslaved and obedient to these passions rather than God (*T. Jud.* 15.2; *T. Ash.* 3.2;). These passions distort the thinking of the individual and, once enslaved to them, make it impossible to obey God (*T. Jud* 18.6; *T. Jos.* 7.8). Those who want to serve God rather than sin are encouraged to resist the passions (4 Macc 13.2; *Let. Aris.* 256.7). While this is certainly a result of Hellenistic influence it also represents a development of slavery language usage in Jewish literature that is not found in the Hebrew Bible.[30]

The above survey indicates that the way slavery language was used in early Jewish literature extant in Greek is very similar to that of the LXX. The relevant terms are used as synonyms and regarded as interchangeable without any apparent reason other than the preference of a particular author. The focus on captivity language as a conceptual synonym as well as the description of the association with

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[29] Kittel 1964, 1:195-96.

[30] Such usage became prominent in certain aspects of Judaism and early Christianity as will be demonstrated later in the thesis.

sin and the passions that lead to sin as a condition of enslavement, however, represent a marked shift from usage in the LXX.

2.3 Slavery Language in Josephus

A comprehensive treatment of Josephus' vocabulary for slavery was undertaken in an article co-authored by John G. Gibbs and Louis H. Feldman.[31] Because their analysis and conclusions are comparable to the examination performed for the present work, the following provides a summary of their conclusions supplemented with further observations.

Like his contemporaries, Josephus employed a variety of terms to describe the situation of enslavement to his readers.[32] In addition to the terminology found in previous literature from the δοῦλος, θεράπων and οἰκέτης word groups[33] is ἀνδράποδον. Gibbs and Feldman conclude that although Josephus used a variety of terms, it is impossible to determine any precise sense of usage and that Josephus appears to have considered all of the terms to be synonyms.[34] This is most apparent by Josephus' commingling of terms within a single Greek sentence to describe the same slaves.[35] Further support for this conclusion is added by the observation that material in *Antiquities* 13-20 parallel with that found in *War* 1-2, shows at some points a consistent use of the terms and at other points introduces many changes, but without any apparent contradictions.[36] Even in instances where Josephus' source is known, it is not unusual for him to change the terms found in the source. For example in his paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas*, he uses δουλευόντων while the latter has ἐν οἰκετίαις.[37] This is also the case in those texts where Josephus appears to have used some form of the LXX. Many of the slavery terms are either substitutions or additions that find no parallels in the LXX.[38] Gibbs and Feldman also demonstrated that Josephus' usage of the terminology is consistent with non-Jewish authors such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with

[31] Gibbs and Feldman 1986, 281-310.
[32] For an overview of Josephus' slave language and a break down of where the language is used, refer to the table in Gibbs and Feldman (1986, 284-85).
[33] Noticeably absent in Josephus is the παῖς word group, which appears approximately 873 times, but only 13 times in the context of slavery (Gibbs and Feldman, 1986 296). Wright confirms Gibbs' and Feldman's conclusion noting that Josephus uses παῖς more often to mean 'child' than 'slave' (1998, 100).
[34] Gibbs and Feldman 1986, 290.
[35] See for example *Ant.* 20.206f where both οἰκέτης and δοῦλος are used to refer to the slaves of the priest. See also *Ant.* 19.12 and *War* 1.585.
[36] See the list of examples provided by Gibbs and Feldman (1986, 288).
[37] Compare *Ant.* 12.20 with *Let. Aris.* 15. Gibbs and Feldman 1986, 295.

whom Josephus would have been familiar.[39] Finally, statistical surveys carried out by Gibbs and Feldman were also unable to reveal any precise usage of the language by Josephus.[40]

As observed in other Jewish literature, Josephus' usage of captivity language can also serve as a synonym for slavery or as an allusion to the future situation of those who have been captured in war.[41] Many times in Josephus those who are designated by him to have entered a situation of αἰχμαλωσία inevitably also become classified as a δοῦλος or ἀνδραπόδον via their sale into the institution of slavery. This is emphasized when Josephus indicates numerous times that those who refused surrender to their enemies did so because they considered captivity to be the equivalent of slavery.[42] Furthermore, Gibbs and Feldman have indicated that the concept of being enslaved (δουλεύειν) in Josephus is often in reference to submission to foreign conquerors.[43] Thus, for Josephus, allowing oneself to enter captivity could be interpreted as a choice to become enslaved to a foreign enemy.

In the context of Josephus' metaphorical usage of the terminology, the δοῦλος word group predominates.[44] The term is used to describe men as enslaved to women through their passions,[45] individuals enslaved to power and money,[46] people under a tyrannical leader as in a position of slavery,[47] and even to describe philosophical concepts such as "fate" (τύχη) being enslaved by those whom it favors.[48] Each of these cases signifies that the enslaved are not in charge of themselves, but are dominated by either obsession or misfortune.

Josephus also uses the δοῦλος term in the realm of religious speech. Present are the ideas of individuals as slaves of God,[49] priests as slaves of God,[50] and the belief that Jews are supposed to provide a type of slave service to God.[51]

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[38] See the list of examples provided by Gibbs and Feldman (1986, 299).
[39] Ibid., 290-297.
[40] Ibid., 301.
[41] Ibid., 287.
[42] See *Ant* 12.28, 46, 299; 13.52,179-180; 17.289; and *War* 1.180, 311; 2.68; 3.305; 4.251; 6.206; 7.208.
[43] Gibbs and Feldman, 1986, 287.
[44] Ibid., 302.
[45] *Ant.* 14.131-133; 15.219; 16.194; 17.34; 19.13; *War* 1.243; 7.302.
[46] *Ant.* 15.91.
[47] *Ant.* 4.22; 8.213; 15.44; 19.227; 20.120.
[48] *War* 5.122.
[49] *Ant* 5.39; 8.198; 11.90, 101; War 3.354.
[50] *Ant.* 7.367; 11.70, 101.
[51] *Ant* 8.257; War 7.323.

The above survey indicates that Josephus's slave terminology reflects similar trends found in contemporaneous Jewish and Greco-Roman authors. His usage of the terminology is not precise indicating that he considered all of the available terms as synonyms. Josephus perceived captivity as an equivalent to slavery and as indicating a willingness to submit to foreign oppression. Similar to other Jewish literature, the language Josephus used to describe the physical enslavement of a person was also used to describe the willingness of an individual to be dominated by their obligations to the deity, sinful passions and misguided obsessions.

2.4 Slavery Language in Philo

The works of Philo of Alexandria contain at least eight hundred occurrences[52] of slavery terms from the following word groups: αἰχμάλωτος, ἀνδράποδον, δοῦλος, θεράπων, οἰκέτης.[53] Philo often interchanged and intermingled enslavement terms. This indicates that, like Josephus and other Jewish writers, he considered them to be synonyms.[54] For instance, twice in a single sentence Hagar is referred to as Sarah's slave by means of both θεράπων and δοῦλος (*Abraham* 2.51; *Decalogue* 167). These same terms are also used interchangeably to describe Abraham as a slave of God (*Heir* 7.1). In a discussion of Sabbath laws, Philo uses both οἰκέτης and δοῦλος as synonyms in the same sentence (*Spec. Laws*, 2.65). When discussing how certain slaves are allowed to eat priestly food Philo uses θεράπων, δοῦλος, and οἰκέτης to describe the same slaves (*Spec. Laws* 1.126-127).

While Philo uses slavery language to describe slaves and aspects of the institution of slavery, the most frequent usage of the language lies in the realm of metaphor. Among the terms used metaphorically by Philo, δοῦλος and θεράπων are the most prominent whereas αἰχμάλωτος, ἀνδράποδον, and οἰκέτης sometimes appear metaphorically, but more often do not. There is a greater preference for the metaphorical usage of δοῦλος over θεράπων and, in many cases when θεράπων is used metaphorically it is often accompanied by δοῦλος. Δοῦλος, for Philo, tends to embody two distinct aspects of metaphor. On the one hand, it can be used to describe the slave/master relationship between humanity and God (*Names* 46.4). On the other

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[52] Analysis is based on a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Gracae* CD-ROOM and the lemma lists provided in *The Philo Index* (Borgen 2000).
[53] As with Josephus, παῖς in Philo more often has the meaning of 'child' than 'slave.' Wright says: "Only a few times (in Philo) does it unequivocally mean slave. When it means slave, [Philo] is almost always using the term in dependence on the Greek biblical translations" (1998, 103).
[54] Wright 1998, 102.

hand, it embodies the concept of enslavement to passions and the vices that are controlled by passion (*Dreams* 2.51.5; *Good Person*, 17). Θεράπων, however, refers more to concepts of worship, religious service and is identified most with priestly or temple service (*Posterity* 182.1; *Drunkenness* 126, 131). Thus, while θεράπων is used to describe a person in a slave service to God it is generally not in the context of a special relationship involving God and the humanity as is found with δοῦλος.

The above survey indicates that Philo's usage of slavery terminology is analogous to occurrences in other Jewish literature examined thus far. Philo treated all of the available terms as synonyms. Because Philo's agenda is often philosophical rather than historical, there is a different emphasis from that of Josephus. Josephus focuses on slavery primarily as foreign oppression. Philo, however, focuses more on the metaphorical utilization of the terms in order to describe the enslavement of individuals to either passions or the religious service of God. This focus on enslavement to passions is similar to some of the other Jewish literature examined above and will be of particular interest in the analysis of Philo later in the thesis.

2.5 The Non-Usage of Διάκονος

A few comments are required in relation to the διάκονος terminology in the literature examined above.[55] There are no occurrences in the LXX in which διάκονος is used as a translation for עבד.[56] Indeed, the term is only used in the LXX 4 times of which 3 are in Esther and 1 in Proverbs.[57] The early Jewish writings extant in Greek examined above contain only 13 occurrences. These occurrences, for the most part, are found in documents that lack other possible slave terms and do not contribute to the metaphorical development of the concept.[58]

Philo's works preserves only 13 occurrences.[59] In the Hellenistic world the term was used more often to describe the action of one who waits on a table or in the broader sense of providing care for someone.[60] In many of the references above the idea of 'serving' is in the context of what H.W. Beyer defines as "service rendered to

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[55] This is necessary because it serves as a background to Paul's usage of διάκονος which will be considered in an analysis of his slavery language in Part Two.
[56] Beyer 1965, 3:83.
[57] Esther 2.2, 6.3, 5; Prov 10.14. The term occurs two other times in 1 Macc 11.58 and 4 Macc 9.17.
[58] *Apoc. Ab.* 9.3; *Jos. Asen.* 2.6, 13.15, 15.7; *T. Job* 11.1-3, 15.1; *T. Jud.* 5.1.
[59] Philo – *Contempl.* 50, 71, 75; *Moses* 2.199; *Joseph* 167, 241; *Spec. Laws* 2.91; *Virtues* 122; *Flaccus* 113, 162; *QG* 4.88; *Posterity* 165; *Giants* 12;
[60] Beyer 1965, 3:82.

one another with a strong approximation to the concept of a service of love."[61] For Philo and the post-biblical writers, this definition distinguishes the term from a more restricted sense of slavery so that it does not figure as a possible synonym for other terms describing enslavement.

In Josephus's writings διάκονος occurs as much as 72 times and its meaning is, at times, somewhat more nuanced in comparison to Josephus's contemporaries. This is evidenced by the three ways he uses the term: 1) in the more general sense of waiting on a table; 2) to render priestly service; and 3) to serve with an emphasis on obedience.[62] It will be demonstrated below that when Josephus uses διάκονος in *War* 3.354; 4.626 as a way to describe his own act of 'service' in the context of obedience to God, the term may be regarded as another possible synonym for slavery.

Apart from these occurrences in Josephus, διάκονος plays no major role in the Jewish understanding of slavery to God. Consequently, the term will, for the most part, not factor into the analysis of this thesis.

2.6 Conclusion

The above survey demonstrates that slavery terms were not considered to be technical terms that always or even predominantly conveyed one particular meaning. Early Jewish authors used a variety of terms and treated those terms as if, more or less, synonyms. This being the case, it will be unnecessary, unless dictated by a particular context, to delineate between the various terms used by the authors examined in this thesis. What is more important than the actual term itself is how that term functioned in a particular context.

It may be inferred from the way slavery language functioned in the Jewish literature that to be called a 'slave' was neither a necessarily derogatory designation nor always an indicator of status. While one could be an economic slave, it was also possible to be enslaved to something more abstract. One could be enslaved to God, another person, food, and sinful passions. One did not have to be a participant in the institution of slavery to receive the title 'slave'.

This leads to the proposition that slavery language underwent an etymological shift in the way it was used. This shift allowed the language to function in a sphere of meaning that was conceptually separate from the institution in which it had initially developed. This, of course, is similar to the conclusions of Sass and Combes as

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[61] Ibid., 87.

presented in the previous chapter.[63] Unlike Sass and Combes, however, the above analysis demonstrates that the new sphere in which slavery language operated was more widespread in Jewish literature than just the LXX. In this new sphere, anyone who offered obedience to another person could be called a slave as a way of describing his/her behavior. Calling oneself a slave was sometimes a polite way of making a request of someone else by acknowledging a difference of social status. It could also be used to describe any situation in which individuals were controlled by something or someone other than themselves. The source of the control could be divine, human, or psychological. In these cases, the act of obedience to the source of control is ultimately what classified one as a slave.

Language usage and function make it possible to offer a definition of slavery as it is represented in the literature examined in this thesis. Slavery represents those situations and relationships in which a sense of obligation, obedience or respect exists on the part of at least one of two parties. This definition applies to a wide range of relational situations and is not restricted by images of slavery as an institutional phenomenon. It adopts the basic premise of subordination and obedience found in slavery and creates a new sphere of meaning whereby anyone can become or be identified as a slave simply through an observable act of obedience.

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[62] Ibid., 83.
[63] See the above summary and analysis of Sass and Combes in § 1.2.3 and 1.2.8.

Chapter 3

Slavery in Ancient Israelite Literary Traditions

The examination of slavery language in early Jewish literature extant in Greek demonstrates that the terminology entered a new sphere of meaning. This meant that slavery language sometimes operated without immediate reference to the institution. 'Slave' or 'slavery' could be used to describe any relationship or situation that was framed in the context of obligation and obedience. It is within this sphere of meaning that Jews sometimes called themselves the slaves of God. In addition to the function of the language, the identification of ancient Israel as the slaves of God in the Hebrew Bible seems also to have influenced this notion in early Judaism. Traditions of state sponsored slavery in Egypt as well as idealistic slavery legislation contributed to the perception among biblical authors that Israel was a nation enslaved to God. The following chapter demonstrates how this tradition functioned in the Hebrew Bible by observing: (1) what categories of slavery existed in the ANE; (2) how these categories compare with traditions that describe Israelite slave practices; (3) how traditions surrounding the Exodus event shaped an ideology that considered Israel to be the slaves of God; and (4) how that ideology was reflected in the accounts of Israel's history.

3.1 Slavery in the Ancient Near East

While it is outside the scope of this thesis to conduct a comprehensive analysis of institutional slavery, a brief overview of the types of slavery that existed in the ANE is possible. Of the various and diverse forms, four basic categories may be identified: domestic slavery, debt slavery, temple slavery and state slavery.[1]

3.1.1 Domestic Slavery

The category of domestic or chattel slavery represents those individuals, normally foreigners captured in war,[2] who became the exclusive property of an individual as a result of a market purchase, self-sale or in-house breeding. These slaves were under the control of the owner and obligated to fulfill the roles and tasks assigned to them. Manumission was a possible expectation for the slave, but not legally required. The

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[1] These are standard categories found in many scholarly descriptions of slavery and are an adoption of similar categories suggested by Isaac Mendélsohn (1949). A more recent study that also uses a similar categorization of slavery in the ANE can be found in Callender 1998, 73-76.
[2] Gelb 1973, 95-96.

slave's status as either free or slave was at the discretion of the owner and suggests that permanent enslavement was probably the norm.[3]

3.1.2 Debt Slavery

The category of debt slavery represents those enslaved usually as a result of insolvency. These individuals were usually not foreigners, but fellow countrymen who entered slavery as a way to gain financial assistance or because they had defaulted on a loan. Some societies allowed for the seizure of borrowers and their families by a creditor in order to be either sold or to extract payment through labor.[4] In order to prevent the perpetual enslavement of an individual, debt slavery was usually limited to three years. This limit clarified that it was not the slave that was the property of the creditor but the capacity of the slave to work in service of the debt.[5]

3.1.3 Temple Slavery

The category of temple slavery represents individuals attached to a particular deity or temple and required to render service in the capacity of the state religion. These individuals were owned by the deity whom they served and were enslaved as a result of capture in war,[6] dedication by a master, or as freeborn orphans and impoverished children who lacked proper support and were brought to live and serve in the temple. Life as a temple slave was often more difficult than that of a domestic slave and included more instances of violence and death.[7]

3.1.4 State Slavery

The final category of state slavery represents not individuals but entire groups of people. This usually comprised of those who had survived in battle against a conquering army and, as prisoners of war, were reduced to the status of slaves and property of a king.[8] They were often forced to labor for the king in mines, smelting refineries or similar labors that were considered too dangerous to use slaves who had been purchased.[9] This category actually represents forced labor more than it does

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[3] Mendélsohn 1949, 19.
[4] Law code of Hammurabi §113-116; Mendélsohn 1949, 23-33.
[5] Chirichigno 1993, 53.
[6] Gelb 1973, 95-96.
[7] Mendélsohn 1949, 99-106.
[8] Ibid., 92.
[9] Ste. Croix relates a story from American slavery that will help to illustrate this point. In 1865 a gentleman on a steamboat in Alabama noticed that bales of cotton were being thrown from a height down into the hold of the ship: the men throwing the bales were African slaves and the men in the hold were Irish. When the gentleman remarked on this a ships mate told him "the niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard or get their back broken nobody loses anything". (1988, 27).

slavery. Whereas other forms of slavery effectively ended the ethnic or national connections of the slave to their homeland, state slavery was often directed at particular people groups who were considered expendable. These groups were usually barracked together and identified as slaves by their ethnic or national connections.

3.1.5 The Insider/Outsider Ideology of Slavery

Slavery was diverse in practice and ideology from nation to nation, but the above represents four common types that existed throughout the ANE. An important characteristic in all four categories is the disconnection that slavery caused through an insider/outsider ideology. Because slavery was an institution generally comprised of outsiders who were controlled by the enslaving society's insiders, it had the ability to disconnect completely (an) individual(s) from family, ethnic and cultural ties. M.I. Finley identified three components of slavery that provide advantages for the owner over the slave: the slave's property status, the totality of power over him/her, and his/her kinlessness.[10] The insider/outsider ideology of slavery eradicated family and national ties and replaced them with new relationships created by the individual's position in the institution.[11] It is this aspect of slavery that Orlando Patterson has identified as natal alienation. "Slaves differed from other human beings in that they were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors into their lives, to inform their understanding of social reality with the inherited meanings of their natural forbears, or to anchor the living present in any conscious community of memory."[12] Natal alienation isolated the slave making compliance with an owner's demands to be effected out of a desire by the slave (outsider) to have some type of personal connection (with the insiders) and helped to ensure the long-term loyalty of the slave.[13] Kin

3.2 Traditions of Slavery in Ancient Israel

The following examination considers the traditions of ancient Israel in view of the four categories of slavery in the ANE and how the social implications of slavery

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[10] Finley 1980, 75, 77.

[11] This result is somewhat mitigated in state slavery because the enslaved often experienced large-scale oppression as an ethnic group rather than individual disconnection. However, state slavery still had the ability to disconnect a group from its homeland and constitute a group of outsiders within another society.

[12] Patterson 1982, 5.

[13] This is true from the aspect of natal alienation but does not reflect the fact that slaves often obeyed simply to avoid punishment or even death.

influenced the way Israelite traditions were shaped. The focus here shall be textual rather than historical. It is a description of Israelite perceptions of slavery based on the texts themselves. It is not intended as a social history of slavery in ancient Israel but as an examination of how various social aspects of slavery in the ANE influenced the traditions of ancient Israel. Without entering into the more complicated questions of source criticism and historicity, it is possible to examine the texts of the Hebrew Bible as it has preserved its various sources and traditions.

3.2.1 Domestic Slavery in Israel

The category of domestic slavery in Israelite society signifies that mode of slavery representing the permanent condition of an individual(s). Similar to other ANE societies, domestic slavery was maintained by the introduction of foreigners into the Israelite community (Lev 25.44-46).[14] These persons became disconnected from family and national backgrounds, were assimilated into Israelite society, provided with a new identity that required circumcision (Ex. 12.44), guaranteed provisions from their owner (Lev. 25.6), one labor-free day a week (Ex. 20.10), protection and restitution from unwarranted abuse (Ex .21.20-21, 26-27), and the right to participate in cultic activities (Ex 12.44; Deut 12.12, 18; 16.11, 14). The foreign-purchased slave was in many ways similar to that of the proselyte except that entrance into the covenant community was via purchase rather than personal choice.[15] Life as a domestic slave was not, however, equivalent to that of a freeborn Israelite. Slaves were considered a financial investment and unproductive or disobedient slaves could expect punishment (Ex 21.20-21). Ultimately the slave's life was valued in terms of a monetary amount and not by his/her status as a human being (Ex 21.32).

3.2.2 Debt Slavery in Israel

While foreigners were the usual source of domestic slaves, debt slavery was the only way that an Israelite could become permanently enslaved. Exodus 21.2-6 envisions the necessity of a male Israelite committing the services of himself or family member to a creditor because of insolvency and outlines the practice of debt

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[14] Bernard S. Jackson has proposed that slavery texts in the OT reflect an insider/outsider opposition that considers all those outside of the community (i.e. Israel) as able to be enslaved justifiably, but insiders can only be enslaved temporarily and only through debt enslavement. He believes that this insider/outsider opposition is made explicit in Lev. 25.39-46 by indicating that Israelites (insiders) are enslaved temporarily for debt and that foreigners (outsiders) are enslaved permanently (1988, 97-99).

[15] Proselytes were those who entered the community of Israel by choice and therefore had a special relationship to God (Ex. 20.10; 22.21; 23.9, 12), were subjected to the requirement of circumcision

slavery.[16] Analogous to other ANE societies is the limitation of the debt enslavement which prevented permanent enslavement and stressed that creditors do not purchase the person but that they have the capacity to service the debt.[17] Permanent slavery could come about, however, if the slave either had become married during the period of servitude and wanted to remain with his family or had become endeared to his master (21.5-6). When a choice was made to remain enslaved, an ear piercing ceremony took place in the sanctuary of God.

It is commonly agreed that the slavery laws found in Deuteronomy 15.12-18 are a discussion of debt-slavery based upon Exodus 21.2-6.[18] Deuteronomy, however, contains stipulations that Exodus does not. The release of female slaves and the requirement that freed slaves be provided with provisions when released are both absent in Exodus. On the other hand, Deuteronomy omits the discussion of the male debt slave's marital rights and does not specify that the ear boring ceremony should take place in the sanctuary of God. Chirichigno has convincingly suggested that variations between the two passages represent the different points of view of the master and the slave. Exodus represents the position and rights of the debt slave by guaranteeing the limitation of service and possible marital interests. Deuteronomy, on the other hand, is addressed to the owner by specifying that the slave is to be freed, provided for upon release,[19]and that there should be no hesitation to fulfill these stipulations.[20] Both passages emphasize that debt-slavery was a temporary status requiring that creditors free the debtors after six years of service guaranteeing that an Israelite who entered debt-slavery was not disconnected from Israelite society but able to retain family and ethnic ties.

A peculiar passage in the context of debt slavery is Leviticus 25.39-43. It reflects the previously two mentioned passages by ensuring the limitation of debt slavery, but instead of a six-year limit, it requires release at the time of the Jubilee (25.40). It also contains the unusual stipulation that at the end of a slave's service his

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(Ex. 12.48), able to participate in some religious ceremonies (Deut. 5.15; 16.11, 14; 29.11; 31.12) and had nearly the same religious obligations as a natural born Israelite (Num. 15.14-16).

[16] Chirichigno 1998, 200.

[17] However, the law code of Hammurabi (§117) limits debt slavery to only three years while the Exodus passage doubles that time period to six years.

[18] Tigay 1996, 466.

[19] Provision for the newly released slave reduced the possibility of re-enslavement. If a slave was released after six years of servitude and had no means of income he could quickly have to revert to his previous situation in order to provide for himself and perhaps others. The provision provided a period for the former slave to become engaged in some means of employment.

family be released with him. Initially the debt slave laws of Leviticus 25 seem to contradict those in Exodus 21.3-4. Chirichigno, however, interprets the passage in the broader context of the laws of Jubilee and redemption in Leviticus 25 and suggests that no contradictions exist because a different situation is in mind. While Exodus and Deuteronomy envision the situation of a person selling himself or a family member to obtain a loan, Leviticus envisions a situation in which an Israelite lost ownership of his land and no longer had a means of supporting his family. According to 25.23-28, when such a scenario occurred, a relative was required to redeem the property so that the impoverished Israelite could return. But if no relative were available to redeem the property, it would remain in the possession of the purchaser until the Jubilee and then revert to the original owner. Leviticus has this situation in mind in relation to debt slavery laws. A head-of-household becomes poor, sells his property but has no one to redeem it for him. He no longer has a means of support and is forced to enslave himself and his family to a fellow Israelite (25.39). This is not typical debt enslavement and the six-year limit is not enforced because it is impossible for the debt slave to return to his property until the time of Jubilee when it will revert to him and he can again provide for his family (25.41).[21] Chirichigno's suggestion is further supported by the exhortation to the creditor that this fellow countryman not be subjected to the service of slaves, but instead be treated as a hired worker (25.40,42). These exhortations seem to prescribe a situation of tenant farming in which provision is made for a fellow countryman and does not describe the typical relation of creditor and debtor.

The same Leviticus passage also addresses the possibility that the loss of property may force an Israelite to sell himself to a foreigner (25.47-55). If this happened the same requirements of redemption prevailed, but if redemption proved unworkable and the Israelite sold himself to the foreigner, the agreement still followed the same stipulations as above. He is to be a hired man working from year to year and released with his family at the time of the Jubilee. Furthermore, the enslaved Israelite's fellow countrymen are to be watchful of this undesirable situation and ensure that the foreigner does not treat the debtor with severity. By acknowledging this undesirable possibility, Leviticus tolerates an Israelite to serve a

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[20] Chirichigno 1998, 286.
[21] Ibid., 327-328.

foreigner, but precludes the Israelite from becoming permanently enslaved, suffering the effects of natal alienation and losing his place in the covenant community.

There are two further points relevant to the legislation of debt slavery in these passages. First is the triple occurrence of phrases in Leviticus and Deuteronomy that recall the former position of the Israelites as slaves in Egypt (Lev 25.42, 55; Deut 15.15). Both passages make it clear that permanent enslavement of fellow Israelites is forbidden based upon God's release of the nation from their servitude in Egypt. Leviticus makes this prohibition even more explicit by stating that upon Israel's release from Egypt they were disqualified to be the slaves of anyone because they are considered the slaves of the Lord (Lev 25.42, 55).[22]

This point may also be argued in Exodus although there is no specific phrase in the passage recalling the Israelites' position in Egypt. The significance of placing the regulations of slavery at the beginning of the covenant code in Exodus 21 and the relation of those regulations to the broader literary context of Israel's release from Egypt has not gone unnoticed.[23] Particularly important is the occurrence in 21.2 of the Hebrew stems עבד (serve) and יצא (go out) both of which are representative of the theme in Exodus of Israel's *service to* and *going out from* Egypt.[24] Just as Israel *served* Egypt and then *went out*, the Hebrew slave who *serves* another Hebrew must also *go out*. Thus while the prohibition is not explicitly stated as it is in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, the theme of Exodus clearly emphasizes that Israel has been released from slavery and is disqualified from permanently serving another.

A second point is that all three of the above passages use similar language to describe the status of the person who has entered debt enslavement. Exodus refers to them as a "Hebrew slave,"[25] Deuteronomy refers to them as "your brother, a Hebrew man or woman" [26] and Leviticus similarly says "your brother."[27] The language of these passages envisions the debt enslavement of Israelites and not foreigners. This

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[22] Lev 25.42 - διότι οἰκέται μού εἰσιν οὗτοι, οὓς ἐξήγαγον ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐ πραθήσεται ἐν πράσει οἰκέτου; Lev 25.55 - ὅτι ἐμοὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ οἰκέται, παῖδές μου οὗτοί εἰσιν, οὓς ἐξήγαγον ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

[23] Sarna 1991, 118.

[24] Sprinkle 1994, 64.

[25] LXX - παῖδα Εβραῖον; MT - עֶבֶד עִבְרִי The exact meaning of the Hebrew term עברי is debated. It has been traditionally interpreted as an ethnic term, but some have suggested it is a sociological term and that its cognates may be found in the Akkadian hap/biru. Sprinkle notes that a decision does not need to be made here as to whether it is ethnic or sociological. What is significant is that the author of Exodus has used a term associated with Israel's servitude in and deliverance from Egypt (Sprinkle 1994, 64).

[26] LXX - ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Εβραῖος ἢ ἡ Εβραία; MT - אָחִיךָ הָעִבְרִי אוֹ הָעִבְרִיָּה.

does not imply that foreigners did not become debt-slaves in Israelite society, but that debt-slavery laws were concerned with the institution only as it related to Israelites. Israelites were forbidden to enslave fellow Israelites permanently. That was the role of foreign slaves. The only way that an Israelite could become enslaved was through limited debt slavery, and only through debt slavery could a choice of permanent enslavement be made.[28]

The nuancing of the debt-slavery laws made it impossible for an Israelite to lose status as an Israelite while serving a fellow Israelite. Israelites were not to be the permanent slaves of anyone except God who had released them from slavery in Egypt (Lev 25.42, 55). Those who became debt slaves retained their identity as Israelites, were protected from natal alienation through their status as an insider, and permitted to return to the community at the end of the six/fifty year period. The prohibition against enslavement of a fellow Israelite was serious enough that anyone found to have kidnapped and sold such a one as a slave was condemned to death (Ex. 21.16 and Deut. 24.7). Foreign slaves, on the other hand, were isolated from their own country and people, assimilated into Israelite society, and ceased to be a part of their national/ethnic group as a result of natal alienation.

3.2.3 Temple Slavery in Israel

There is evidence for the existence of temple slavery in ancient Israel, but it is difficult to determine what particular aspects it had in common with other societies. The first mention of such an institution is among the lists of the names of slaves who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezra 2.43-54; Neh. 7.46-56). Traditionally the origins of this group are traced back to donations made by Moses, Joshua and David to the temple and probably consisted of both Israelites and foreigners (Num. 31.30, 47; Josh. 9.27; Ezra 8.20).[29] Like other ANE societies, the slaves of Israel's deity resided together in a common compound and were supervised by an overseer (Neh. 3.31; 11.21). Apart from this small and fragmented data, there is no other information obtainable about temple slavery in ancient Israel. It is thus impossible to determine how it may or may not have reflected other forms of

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[27] LXX - ὁ ἀδελφός σου; MT -אָחִיךָ.

[28] This is an idealistic arrangement, however. Amos 2.6 alludes to fellow Israelites being sold in contradiction of this legislation. See also Jeremiah 34.8-17 which relates how loopholes in the debt slavery laws were exploited by some as a way to perpetually enslave fellow Israelites.

[29] Mendelsohn suggests that the dedication of Samuel (1Sam 1.24-28) and the reference to people in Isaiah 44.5 "who inscribe their hands to YHWH" both prove that the practice of dedicating freeborn persons to the deity was known and practiced in ancient Israel (1949, 105).

slavery.[30] Without legislative outlines or clearer allusions of the function of these slaves, we are restricted to only acknowledging its existence.

3.2.4 State Slavery in Israel

State slavery was probably the largest form of institutional enslavement in Israelite society. As in other ANE societies, certain commercial or industrial enterprises were the monopoly of the monarchy and required an inexpensive and expendable labor force. Tradition records two types of state slavery. The first involved the employment of Israelites, the second was concerned with foreigners. Both groups are designated by the Hebrew term מס (compulsory service).[31]

The corvée consisted of those Israelites conscripted by the king to work on particular projects. Evidence for such a group is found in the traditions relating to Solomon who, according to 1 Kings 5.13-15, conscripted 30,000 Israelites to work in Lebanon in conjunction with the temple building project in Jerusalem.[32] Solomon sent three groups of 10,000 on monthly relays allowing for one month of work in Lebanon and two months at home. Solomon also appointed administrators to oversee the project and the workers (5.16).[33] Apart from traditions about the construction of the temple, there is little other information about how this system may have functioned.[34] It is clear, however, that they were not in the same position of permanent slaves but were conscripted for a specific project and allowed to return home and fulfill responsibilities there. In fact, the three-month rotation schedule would have permitted members of the corvée to be at home with family twice as long as they were away in the service of the king. In essence, they were not slaves but a part-time, temporary workforce. However, the burden appears to have been considered unbearable and eventually caused Israel's secession from Judah in response to Rehoboam's intent on maintaining the corvée (1 Kings 12).[35]

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[30] The Mishnah indicates that Temple slaves were free to marry outside their class, but that the children of the marriage were claimed by the temple as slaves (*Quiddushin* 3.12; *Yebamot* 2.4). This assertion is impossible to confirm and would seem to conflict with previous biblical material that limits the length of time a Hebrew can be enslaved.

[31] North, 1997, 8: 428. The terminology used in the Hebrew Bible lends itself more to a study of state slavery than the LXX due to the inconsistent way in which the מס term is sometimes rendered by the Greek.

[32] 1 Kings 5.13: וַיַּעַל הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה מַס מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהִי הַמַּס שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ

[33] The term סֵבֶל (burdensome labor) is used instead of מס. The סֵבֶלterm is also used in 11.28 in reference to Jeroboam who was an overseer of the forced labor under Solomon.

[34] Mendelsohn 1962, 33.

[35] Bright 1981, 223.

Although the term מס describes the position of the corvée, it is used more often in conjunction with conquered foreigners subjected to compulsory labor.[36] 1 Kings 9.15 and 2 Chronicles 2.17-18 says that in addition to the corvée Solomon used foreign labor to complete the temple and numerous other state projects.[37] This subjection of foreigners as forced laborers is well attested[38] as is the royal appointment of officials who oversaw the labor.[39] Deuteronomy 20.10-15 indicates that subjection had become a national policy.[40] When a battle was pressed against a city, terms of peace were offered to the besieged. If the terms were accepted the inhabitants would become Israel's "forced laborers" (הָיוּ לְךָ לָמַס וְעָבָדוּךָ), but if they were refused the entire male population was executed.[41] Contrary to the rotating work schedules of the corvée, foreigners enslaved by the king were not a part-time or even temporary work force, but a permanent and inexpensive source of labor. The monarchy maintained a group of people from outside of Israelite society for the express purpose of furthering the political and personal goals of the king.[42] When referring to the Canaanites and other nations subjected by Solomon, the author of 1 Kings claims that these groups remained enslaved 'until the present time' (1 Kings 9.21) and thereby verifies that Israel practiced state slavery by perpetually enslaving particular groups of people from the outside.

3.2.5 The Insider/Outsider Ideology of Slavery in Israel

According to the traditions preserved in the Hebrew Bible, Israel, like other ANE nations, obtained slaves primarily through the purchase or capture of foreigners. This utilization of foreigners as the primary source of slaves was based on an insider/outsider ideology common to most forms of slavery. Foreigners were assimilated into the Israelite community and suffered the effects of natal alienation by being cut off from their previous national, ethnic and cultural ties. Similar to other ANE societies was Israel's attempt to limit the possibility of Israelites (insiders)

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[36] Mendelsohn 1942, 16.
[37] Ronald de Vaux (1961, 89) points out that 1 Kings 9.21 attempts to suggest that no Israelites were part of this conscripted force in spite of other references to the contrary (1 Kings 5.27; 11.28).
[38] Josh 16.10, 17.13; Judg 1.28, 30, 33, 35; 1 Kings 9.15, 21; 12.18; Isa. 31.8; 2 Chron 8.8; 10.18.
[39] 2 Sam 20.24; 1 Kings 4.6, 5.28, 12.18; 2 Chron 10.18.
[40] Rainy 1970, 196.
[41] This seems comparable to the situation in Ex. 1.15-22 where the Pharaoh, afraid that Israel will join Egypt's enemies, commands for male children to be killed. State slavery provided an opportunity to benefit from allowing one's enemies to live.

becoming perpetually enslaved to one another. The basis for this prohibition was the ideological belief that Israel had been led out of Egyptian slavery by God and consequently was disqualified from enslavement to anyone except God. By eliminating the permanent enslavement of insiders, the possibility of an Israelite losing status as a member of the covenant community (i.e. becoming an outsider) was prevented.

3.3 Israel as the Slaves of God

3.3.1 The Exodus as the Source of Enslavement to God

Slavery terminology is employed numerous times as a way of describing Israel's position in Egypt under Pharaoh and is frequently appealed to as the source of their requirement to obey God.[43] Yet the slavery experienced by Israelites was not as domestic servants in private Egyptian homes (the kind forbidden among Israelites), but as the exclusive property of the Pharaoh retained to accomplish his private enterprises. As J.D. Levenson notes: "Bondage in Egypt was not Domestic slavery, but State slavery . . . the Israelites were not victims of the market, but of the State."[44] Exodus 1.11 describes Israelite enslavement as follows:

> "So they appointed taskmasters over them to afflict them with hard labor. And they built for Pharaoh storage cities, Pithom and Raamses."

Factors suggesting that this was an incident of enslavement by the state are: 1) the appointment of overseers; 2) the use of the מס term to describe the type of labor (מִסִּים לְמַעַן עַנֹּתוֹ בְּסִבְלֹתָם); and 3) the labor was exclusively for the benefit of the king. Other indicators of the practice of state slavery are the oppression of a particular people group (vv. 8-10) and the separation of the Israelites in Goshen from the rest of Egyptian society.

The situation in Egypt goes beyond mere state slavery, however. The fear of a possible uprising led the Egyptians to dominate and suppress the Israelites (1.10) and reflects a case of heightened xenophobia. In 1.11 the term ענה expresses the idea of making Israel to bow down or be humbled.[45] G.F. Davies has noted that the narrator's

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[42] It appears that these State slaves may have been the "ancestors of the slaves of Solomon" who returned from Babylon to live in Jerusalem and the surrounding area when descendents of State slavery were integrated with the Temple slaves who served the Levites. (Ezra 2.55-58; Neh. 7.57-60; 11.3).
[43] Ex 6.6; 13.3, 14; 20.2; Lev 26.36, 45; Deut 5.6; 6.12; 7.8; 8.14; 13.5, 10; 15.15; 24.18; Jdg 6.8; 2 Sam 7.23; 1 Kings 9.9; Jer 34.13; 41.13.
[44] Levenson 1993, 137.
[45] Callender 1998, 78.

designation of the Egyptians as 'his (Pharaoh's) people' (עמו) in 9a and the designation of the Israelites as 'the sons of Jacob' (עם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) indicates that the issue in Exodus 1 is a possible conflict between two distinct people groups and is not a matter of internal strife within a homogenous population.[46] Pharaoh makes a clear distinction between the two people groups based upon family and ethnic backgrounds. "Thus in the Exodus narrative, at least, the Hebrews' 'Slavery' in Egypt was a systematic program of imperial oppression."[47]

An advantage of the situation (if there is one), however, is that, unlike domestic slaves, the Israelites were never forced to assimilate into Egyptian society. Their oppression as a people group and separation from Egyptian society would have enabled them to retain their national identity.[48] It was this identity that allowed them to be different from everyone else living in Egypt whether slave or free. Israelites were victims of the insider/outsider aspect of slavery, but did not suffer the consequence of natal alienation as probably happened to Egyptian domestic slaves. Paradoxically, then, Israel never became disconnected and did not lose its national and cultural identity through enslavement, but retained it as a result of enslavement.

The image of enslavement in Egypt is sometimes contrived of as a cruel domestic slavery that ends with manumission at the hand of Israel's victorious God. This is not the case, however. Rather it is the image of a people oppressed by a king who refuses to release those he has enslaved to the state so that they might serve another king. The episode in Egypt is not about the manumission of Israel but a change of masters.[49] The conflict is between two competing kings over "who will be the king of Israel and whom Israel will serve."[50]

The conflict between God and Pharaoh begins in Exodus 4.23 with the statement -'Εξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν μου, ἵνα μοι λατρεύση. The phrase *let my people go* occurs in Exodus seven times, but is often emphasized over the accompanying second phrase *that they might serve me*.[51] The reason for this incorrect emphasis is that Exodus has often been misinterpreted as a story about freedom. The

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[46] Davies 1992, 46.
[47] Callender 1998, 78.
[48] There is significant debate in scholarship surrounding when, if at all, Israel could be properly identified as a nation. The purpose here is not to enter into a dialogue with this debate but to highlight a point that Exodus makes implicitly when describing Israel's segregation in Egypt.
[49] Daube, 1963, 42-46.
[50] Davies 1992, 60.
[51] Exodus 4.23; 7.16, 26; 8.16; 9.1, 13; 10.3.

point of Exodus, as Levenson points out, "is not freedom in the sense of self-determination, but service, the service of the loving, redeeming and delivering God of Israel, rather than the state and its proud king."[52] Israel was not removed from Egypt simply to be free, but so that they might serve God instead of Pharaoh.[53]

God's designation of the Israelites as "my people" is a claim of ownership that predates and supercedes any claims by Pharaoh. Pharaoh's refusal to acquiesce represents his rejection of God's authority over him and the people he has enslaved. Egypt suffers with plagues and the king of Egypt remains determined not to release the slaves and instead oppresses them even more (5.3-21). Even with the plague against the first-born, Pharaoh only gives temporary consent to release Israel and pursues them into what is the climax of the battle. The picture of this confrontation at the Red Sea is that of a people caught in between two warring kings trying to retain what they perceive to be their property.[54] When the army of the king of Egypt is destroyed by the triumph of Israel's deity, God's kingship is confirmed and declared in the Song of the Sea.[55] Notably absent in the song is the mention of either slavery or freedom.[56] The song does not celebrate a release from slavery but instead commemorates victory over Pharaoh and the sea by declaring the kingship of God (Ex 15.1-21).[57] The Exodus event represents the transference of Israel from ownership by the king of Egypt to the king of Heaven, God.

3.3.2 Israel's Slavish Obedience to God

The notion that service to God was the ultimate intention of the Exodus is revealed in Israel's encounter with God at Mt. Sinai. The passage contains the basic essence of Israel's covenant with their new master:

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[52] Levenson 1993, 147.

[53] This is highlighted in Ex. 14.12 where Israel wonders if it would be better to serve Pharaoh.

[54] Millard Lind has commented that the narration of Ex 13-14 depicts the event at the sea as a battle between two "armies" that are described as "camps" and participate in "fighting" and "retreat". According to Lind, it is God that is depicted as the victorious warrior over Egypt and not Israel. (1980, 54-55).

[55] Noth, 1962, 125-126.

[56] Levenson 1993, 140.

[57] The concept of God as the king of Israel is well established in the OT and does not require an extensive treatment here (Num 23.21; Judg 8.23; 1 Sam 8.7; 10.19; 12.12). The theme is most explicit in those Psalms generally designated as "Enthronement Psalms" which describes God's accession to a royal throne and the exercise of royal power over the divine council, creation, and Israel (8; 15; 24; 29; 33; 46; 48; 50; 66a; 75; 76; 81; 84; 87; 114; 118; 132; 149). Similar to the Song of the sea, the claim to kingship stems from victory over the waters of chaos, rebellious sea monsters, and earthly opponents (Ps 29; 48.3-4; 68.30; 74.12-14; 89.10-11; 93). Johnson, 1967, 38; Eaton 1976, 105-111; Whitelam, 1992, 4:43.

> You yourselves have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings, and brought you to Myself. Now then, if you will indeed obey My voice and keep My covenant, then you shall be My own possession among all the peoples, for all the earth is Mine; and you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. (Ex. 19.4-6)

Based upon God's actions against Egypt, Israel is required to be obedient to God. This is clearly stated in Exodus 20.2 by the way that the Decalogue is introduced by recapitulating what God has done for Israel as a basis of forbidding them from serving anyone other than God (20.3-5). This is a common factor in many ANE treaties in which the action of a suzerain on behalf of (a) weaker individual(s) is accompanied by subsequent promises of protection in exchange for the loyalty and obedience of the vassal to the Suzerain.[58] In the case of the Israelites, it is the transfer of service from Pharaoh to God that represents the action and protection while their obedience signifies their loyalty. This connection between the Exodus events with a requirement of loyal service occurs frequently. In Leviticus 25.39-46 Israelites cannot become permanently enslaved to anyone because they are ultimately God's slaves as a result of their removal from Egypt. When the covenant is reconfirmed in Joshua 24 the Exodus and subsequent events are recapitulated for the people and concluded with an exhortation to serve the Lord and to put away other gods (v.14). The people respond by acknowledging all that the Lord has done for them in the past and resoundingly declare that they will serve and obey the Lord.[59] A similar situation also occurs in 1 Samuel in which the rescue from Egypt and subsequent defeat of enemies are recapitulated and contrasted with Israel's propensity to serve other gods, rather than the Lord (1 Sam 12.6-11).[60]

The exodus represented a historical event that formed the basis on which Israel understood itself as the slaves of God. Included in this understanding was the obligation to serve God in loyal obedience and to reject all others.[61] Because Israel's identity as the slaves of God was based on an historical event, being a slave of God

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[58] Mendanhall 1992, 1:1180-1182.
[59] Κυρίῳ λατρεύσομεν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκουσόμεθα. (16-18, 24).
[60] Rabbinic interpreters also understood the importance of Israel's relationship to God as slaves under a king and found an explanation of this motif in the slavery laws of Exodus 21.4-5. Hebrew debt slaves who chose to become permanently enslaved to their master were required to signal this loyalty by having their ear pierced at the entrance of the Temple. The Rabbis, however, interpreted this as a rejection of God's kingship by choosing to be permanently enslaved to another person. They connected the ear boring ceremony in Exodus with the restriction on slavery in Leviticus 25.45 and condemned the slave as having rejected the voice of God from Sinai (*b. Qiddušin.* 22b).
[61] Callender 1998, 79.

represented more than just a title reflecting service to a particular god; it represented the history of a people on both a national and religious level. To call oneself an Israelite was the same as calling oneself a slave of God; it was to stake a claim in the national, religious and historical identity of the nation.

3.3.3 The Rejection of God and the Return to Slavery

Rejection of slavery to God and the failure to obey the stipulations of the covenant was viewed as an invitation to return to the type of foreign oppression experienced in Egypt. In Judges, for example, there are numerous instances of Israel abandoning *service* to the Lord for *service* to other gods resulting in their subsequent oppression by foreign kings.[62] In 2 Chronicles 12.8 the response to Judah's failure to be faithful and obedient in service to God is their deliverance into slavery under the Egyptian king Shishak:

> But they will become his slaves so that they may learn the difference between my service (τὴν δουλείαν μου) and the service of the kingdoms of the countries (τὴν δουλείαν τῆς βασιλείας τῆς γῆς).

And similarly in Jeremiah 5.19:

> As you have forsaken me and served foreign gods in your land (ἐδουλεύσατε θεοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις), so you shall serve strangers in a land that is not yours (οὕτως δουλεύσετε ἀλλοτρίοις).[63]

Rejection of enslavement to God was not always a matter of serving one god over another, however. There was also the question as to whether Israel could have a human king and still be able to serve God as king. There were at least two opinions on this matter.[64] On the one side are statements made by such figures as Gideon and Samuel that connect the desire for a king with the rejection of God's rule over Israel (Judg 8.22; 1 Sam 8.4-6).[65] 1 Samuel associates the request for a king with the practice of idolatry,[66] as a declaration of self-determination that removes Israel from the protection of the covenant (1 Sam 8.18) and effectively causes them to become enslaved to their king rather than God (καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε αὐτῷ δοῦλοι 1 Sam. 8.17). On the other hand, Deuteronomy 17.14-15 allows for the establishment of a monarch as long as he is an Israelite and not a foreigner. J.J.M. Roberts has suggested that

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[62] See: Judges 2.7; 3.8,14; 9.28.38; 10.6, 13, 16.
[63] See similar statements in Nehemiah 9.36-37.
[64] For a summary of the opinions in ancient Israel see: Roberts 1987, 377- 396.
[65] The struggle, however, did not end with Gideon but continued with the failed attempt of his son Abimelech (Jdg. 9).

while there are clear stumbling blocks involved with obtaining a king, the fact that God, not Samuel, accepts the request indicates that not all were antimonarchical.[67] In similar fashion, David Daube has pointed out that while 1 Samuel interprets the Israelite monarchy as being amiss, God makes a concession on the pretext that the people and the king follow stipulations set forth for a human kingship.[68] Despite these pockets of resistance, tradition relates the establishment of a monarchy and along with it a new religious ideology that legitimated the human monarch as the chosen agent of the divine king.[69]

The ideology of the Israelite monarchy consisted of the recognition that the king had a unique relationship with God, functioned as the agent of the deity and represented the people to God.[70] Although the chief political ruler of Israel, the king was still in subordination to God[71] and the king's ideal attributes were expected to correspond to the central elements of God's kingship.[72] The royal Psalms, as well as other passages, proclaim that the king was an adopted "son" or "firstborn" of God who was in turn the king's "father."[73] Because the king was declared anointed by the Lord, he was thought to be a channel of the divine Spirit (1 Sam 16.13)[74]and the embodiment of God on earth, a surrogate of the Lord ruling over a people as a mediator between the two and held answerable by God.[75] As Mettinger has noted, however, this does not represent a deification of the king, but a picture of the special relationship that existed between God and the king upon accession to the throne.[76] The occupant of the throne ruled the state on behalf of the deity not as a deity.

The function of the king was not only political but also religious. It was the responsibility of the king as the deity's chosen ruler on earth to administer the cult, bring about cultic reform,[77]act as a leader of worship,[78]oversee the place of cultic worship, appoint those who served there,[79]and even personally perform some priestly

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[66] ἐγκατέλιπόν με καὶ ἐδούλευον θεοῖς ἑτέροις (8.7-8).
[67] Roberts 1987, 381.
[68] Daube 1959, 2.
[69] Roberts 1987, 386.
[70] Miller 1985, 219-20.
[71] As sometimes illustrated in the relationship between prophets and kings (2 Sam 12).
[72] Whitelam 1992, 44.
[73] Psalm 2.7; 89.27; 139; 2 Sam 7.14; Isa 9.6. Johnson 1967, 27.
[74] Johnson 1967, 15.
[75] Rooke 1998, 193.
[76] Mettinger, 1976, 260-75.
[77] Rooke, 1998, 187; 1 Kings 15.12-15; 2 Kings 18.1-7; 22.3-23.25.
[78] 2 Sam 24.25; 7.2-3; 1 Kings 5-8; 12.26-33.
[79] Whitelam 1992, 46-47; 2 Sam 8.17; 20.25; 1 Kings 2.26-27; 4.2; 2 Kings 16. 10-18; 22.3-7; 23.

acts.[80] This does not suggest that the king usurped the role of priest, but that as the deity's representative on earth, the king was obligated to ensure that worship of the deity was carried out underneath royal leadership. It was intended that the king would be a model of righteous obedience to the Lord imitated by the people.[81] Failure to fulfill these obligations was to invite judgment by God and the removal of both king and people exiled together to serve a foreign king (1 Sam 12.19-25).

The repeated failure of the king to lead in the religion of Israel's God is a major focus of biblical authors and the administration of a king is often evaluated by whether he served the Lord or other gods. There are numerous references to the syncretistic practices of the royal religion and more popular forms,[82]and both the prophets and the theological perspective of historical writers condemned this royal apostasy.[83] The consequence of this disobedience was exile into the hands of a foreign king and renewed subjection to state slavery.[84] 2 Kings 17.7-23 contains an explanation for the exile of both Israel and Judah. It begins by recalling God's removal of Israel from Egypt and its king (v. 7). This is followed by accusations of worshipping other gods under the leadership of an apostate king (vv. 7-8), of practicing customs contrary to the Lord (v. 9), of serving idols (v. 12), of not keeping the commands of the covenant, and of rejecting the warnings of the Lord's servants the prophets (vv. 12-13). The exile, according to the theological perspective of the author, was the result of a continuous rejection of God in order to serve other gods in loyalty to an apostate king.

3.3.4 The Return from Foreign Slavery to Slavery under God

Exile was not an end in itself, however. The notion of enslavement to God persisted in spite of situations of captivity and it was believed that once Israel returned to God in repentance, they would once again become God's slaves. This is found implicitly in the cycle of disobedience and oppression in Judges. Israel sinned by serving other gods and was oppressed by foreigners. When they repented, God would raise up a hero to rescue them. But with the significant impact of the Babylonian

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[80] 1 Sam 13.9-10; 2 Sam 6.13, 17-18; 24.25; 1 Kings 3.4,15; 8.5, 62-64; 9.25.
[81] Johnson 1967, 2.
[82] Jer 2.27; 44.17-18; Ezk 20.30-31; Micah 5.13-14; 2 Kings 21.7.
[83] Amos 5.21-27; Isa 1.10-17; Jer 7.
[84] This is evidenced by Lam 1.1, which notes that Babylon had subjected Jerusalem to מס (Rainey 1970, 197).

captivity, the idea of a return to enslavement to God was accentuated as in Jeremiah 30.8-9:

> 'And it shall come about on that day,' declares the LORD of hosts, 'that I will break his yoke from off their neck, and will tear off their bonds; and strangers shall no longer make them their slaves. 'But they shall serve the LORD their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up for them.'[85]

Not only was slavery to God reinstated in opposition to slavery under foreigners, but the ideals of the monarchy and its association with the deity were also reinstated. The hope of Israel was to become once again the slaves of God under the leadership of a righteous king whom they would serve and who would lead them in loyal obedience to God.

3.3.5 Slavery to God and the Royal Ideology

Israel's rejection of God meant a return to oppressive state enslavement under a foreign nation. As the agent of God on earth, the king, like his people, could be regarded as a slave of God and, in this capacity, was expected to serve God and lead the people in loyal obedience to God. As a model of obedience and conduct for the people, the king was intended to exemplify what it meant to be a slave of God. It was noted in Chapter Two that people living under the rule of a king were often designated as the king's slaves.[86] Consequently, the king may be viewed as a first among equals. Israelites were the slaves of God and carried the same obligations for loyal service. The king, however, was intended to be the embodiment of slavery to God and to lead his own slaves into fulfilling the requirements of service to the deity. By being loyal slaves to the king and imitating his example, people would also be acting as loyal slaves to God.

3.4 Insider/Outsider Ideology of Slavery to God

The insider/outsider ideology of institutional slavery resulted in the natal alienation of the slave. While enslaved in Egypt, Israel was a victim of the insider/outsider ideology but was protected from natal alienation by virtue of the type of slavery experienced. Rather than disconnect Israel from history and ancestors, the insider/outsider ideology actually enhanced their identity as a nation. Furthermore, Israel never rejected this ideology but adopted it into their understanding as a nation

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[85] See Emanuel Tov's analysis of LXX -Jeremiah's usage of slavery language in this passage (1976, 50-51, 117). See also the next chapter for an explanation of this passage's language in conjunction with 1 Baruch.
[86] See § 2.1.

enslaved to God. To identify themselves as the slaves of God was to make a statement about their identity as a nation, a religious group and how they differed from other nations. This can be demonstrated in four examples.

3.4.1 Slavery to God as a Self-Identification Made By Insiders

Ezra 5.11 is the only place in the MT and one of only two places in the LXX where, apart from a polite speech or a religious context, individuals identify themselves as a slave of God. In 5.6-17, a letter to Darius king of Persia records that when those rebuilding the temple in Jerusalem were asked to identify themselves, they answered:

> Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (5.11).

It is significant that when Tattenai attempted to list the names of the leaders that the only response given to him is their association as God's slaves (10-11). Their names are never recorded in the letter to Darius. Also notable is that the response not only contains the phrase δοῦλος θεοῦ but that it is followed by a brief historical review concerning the temple, its construction by a great king, its later destruction, and their forefathers' disobedience that provoked God to exile them to Babylon (5.11-12). This answer is a result of the insider/outsider ideology. The ideology delineates that God is creator (and therefore ruler or king of the earth), Israel has a history with God, they are expected to obey God and their position as God's slaves (*insiders*) is in distinction to those *outsiders* not associated with Israel's God. In many ways the situation in Ezra 5.11 reflects the kind of polite speech form one would expect to find when the servants of two kings encounter one another. They identify themselves not by a personal name but by who it is they serve.

Another example is found in Jonah. In 1.9 when the sailors of the sinking ship demand Jonah identify his occupation and nationality, he responds:

> Δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ τὸν κύριον θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐγὼ σέβομαι,
> ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν.

Before commenting specifically on the LXX version of Jonah's response, it first should be noted how it differs from the MT. The Hebrew contains no allusions to Jonah's status as a slave of God but simply identifies him as a Hebrew (עִבְרִי אָנֹכִי).

Uriel Simon suggests that the LXX translator confused the Hebrew *resh* for a *dalet*, understood the letter *yud* as an abbreviation for the divine name, and may have also been influenced by the reference to Jonah in 2 Kings 14.25 (MT - בְּיַד־עַבְדּוֹ יוֹנָה; LXX -

ἐν χειρὶ δούλου αὐτοῦ Ιωνα). Simon considers the Greek version an implausible reading, however, because it leaves Jonah's national affiliation unanswered and that "it seems rather far-fetched that a runaway slave would identify himself with reference to his master."[87]

Simon's conclusion of mistranslation seems correct. The עִבְרִי term has a limited usage in the MT and is generally confined to certain parts of stories or books.[88] The occurrence in Jonah is also the only time that a person identifies himself with the term עִבְרִי, all other occurrences are third party descriptions. This low occurrence of the term suggests a possible unfamiliarity on the part of the LXX translators that could have easily been confused with the more frequent עבד term. N.P. Lemche has noted that in the post-exilic and pre-Hellenistic period, 'Hebrew' was never understood as a general term denoting ordinary Israelites or Jews.[89] It is not surprising, then, that a translator either misunderstood or altered the terminology in Jonah's statement. This may also suggest that the translator was more familiar with the idea of Israelites as the slaves of God than as Hebrews. Thus, though not original, the LXX reading appears to be a more familiar form to the translator and provides a fuller answer to the question of Jonah's background (1.8). The Hebrew answers the question of Jonah's nationality but ignores the question of occupation. The Greek answers both questions by connecting Jonah to an occupation and a people group. By identifying himself as a δοῦλος κυρίου he associates himself with the God of Israel and consequently with the people of Israel who worship God. In a context portraying Jonah and others calling on their own gods for help (1.5), Jonah's self-identification as the slave of God who created both land and sea acknowledges the type of relationship he has with God in distinction to outsiders who are not associated with Israel's God. Jonah's response does not identify him as a fugitive slave but as an Israelite obligated to obey the God of Israel.

3.4.2 Slavery to God as an Identification Made By Outsiders

The insider/outsider ideology was not only confined to instances of self-identification of enslavement to God. There were occasions when the actions of individual Israelites caused non-Israelite outsiders to recognize the insiders as slaves

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[87] Simon 1999, 11-12.
[88] See the story of Joseph Genesis 37-50; the history of Israel in Egypt Exodus 1-15; and 1 Samuel. See also: Gen 14.13; Ex. 21.2-11; Deut. 15.12; Jer. 34.8-20.
[89] Lemche 1979, 1-23.

of God. The book of Daniel recounts the story of the three young men (Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego) and their refusal to obey Nebuchadnezzar. The three face a situation that challenges their commitment of loyal obedience to God and threatens their lives. When God rescues them from their perilous situation Nebuchadnezzar praises them for their disobedience of himself and their unyielding obedience to God (3.28). It seems significant that the identification of the young men as slaves of God in this story comes not from themselves but from the lips of Nebuchadnezzar (3.26, 28).[90] This suggests that the actions of the insiders reveal to outsiders their status as God's slaves. The scenario is repeated again in the case of Daniel. He refused to disobey God, was placed in a situation threatening death, but was rescued by God (6.24, 28). Daniel's identification as a slave of God, as with Nebuchadnezzar, is found on the lips of king Darius indicating once again that the actions of the insiders reveal their position as God's slaves to outsiders (6.21).[91] By identifying Daniel and his compatriots as the slaves of God, the outsiders also designate themselves as those who are not associated with Israel's God.[92]

3.4.3 Slavery to God as an Identification Made By God

Finally, the ideology also extended to the way God was said to describe Israel as demonstrated in the servant songs of Isaiah. The servant songs declare that Israel is

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[90] The two different recessions of the LXX (3.95-96) use two different Greek slavery terms to identify the slaves of God. The old Greek says - οἱ παῖδες τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ ὑψίστου. Theodotion says - οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου. Both are acceptable translations of the Hebrew because of the synonymous nature of the slavery terms as was demonstrated in the previous chapter.

[91] In 6.21 the Theodotion tradition places the phrase Δανιηλ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος in the mouth of King Darius as a way to describe Daniel in light of his divine rescue. This is rather different from the old Greek, which contains the somewhat less emphatic phrase:
ὁ θεός σου, ᾧ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς. Theodotion's translation is more in accord with the MT, however, than is the old Greek.

[92] There is a modification in the old Greek not found in the MT or Theodotion. In 6.28 Darius is made to declare that:

> ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος ἔσομαι αὐτῷ προσκυνῶν καὶ δουλεύων πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας μου, τὰ γὰρ εἴδωλα τὰ χειροποίητα οὐ δύνανται σῶσαι, ὡς ἐλυτρώσατο ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Δανιηλ τὸν Δανιηλ.

The reason for the variation is not clear, but the presence of slavery language may be able to offer a suggestion. The modification of 6.21 by the Old Greek (see previous note) may be an attempt to explain the significance of the phrase ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ by placing it in the addition inserted seven verses later. Rather than insert the phrase in 6.21, the addition of Darius' conversion portraying him as one who will both worship and serve the God of Daniel provides an opportunity to describe who this God is and why it is better to serve this god instead of other gods. Darius' statement makes him a slave of God and consequently disqualifies him from serving other gods. By adding this declaration the point is made that Daniel's refusal to neglect the Lord represents a triumph of the Jewish God over the enemies of God and Israel. Daniel's God can do what no other god can. Those who oppose God and his slaves will suffer the consequences. However, they also have the opportunity to find God through the examples of his slaves (Goldingay 1989, 135).

the chosen slave of God (41.8-10) and has been commissioned as a light to other nations so that God may be known by them (42.1-7; 49.6-7).[93] This relationship requires that they recognize God is One (43.10), creator of all (44.1-2, 21), king of Israel (43.15; 44.6), victor over the waters and the armies of Egypt (43.16-20), and forgives them their sins (47.1-9). God will humiliate the enemies of his slaves and they will find that they themselves have been reduced to a position of slavery (47.1-9; 51.21-23).[94]

In the servant songs the insider/outsider ideology contrasts Israel's unique status as God's slaves with the powerlessness of other kings to make them their slaves. Israel's status as insiders not only delineates them from outsiders not associated with Israel's God, but also affords them protection from the enslaving powers of the outsiders. As the slaves of God, Israel has a mission to reach out to the entire world. Outsiders will see what God is doing through his slaves and be persuaded to become insiders, i.e. slaves of God.

3.5 Conclusion

It should be emphasized again that what has been undertaken is not a survey which assumes that the text always reflects historical data. Rather this is a review of traditions as they are preserved in the text. Indeed, there is evidence within the text itself that regulations on slavery found in the Hebrew Bible represent a set of ideals that were not necessarily realized.[95] In light of the above investigation of textual traditions, it is possible to offer the following conclusions about what it meant for Israelites to be the slaves of God.

First, the slave of God tradition was based upon the twin axioms of covenant fidelity and monolatry.[96] Israel's deity initiated a special relationship contained in a covenant that was maintained by stipulations prohibiting Israel from associating with other deities. The slave of God tradition is subordinate to these axioms and developed in light of them. The identification of Israelites as slaves was a response to the

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[93] Watts 1987, 104, 121.
[94] Watts 1987, 171.
[95] For instance in Jeremiah 34.8-17 king Zedekiah and others are criticized for the practice of releasing Hebrew slaves in the seventh year only to seize and enslave them again. This was an apparent exploitation of a loophole in the legislation against permanent enslavement of Israelites. Slaves could be freed every seventh year but still remain permanently enslaved. See also Amos 2.6, which condemns the practice of selling poor Israelites as slaves. This of course would also have been in violation of the ideal that Israelites were only to be temporary debt slaves.
[96] As a descriptive term monolatry, as opposed to monotheism, recognizes that Israelites accepted the existence of other gods, but restricted themselves to worshipping only one god (Ludwig 1987, 10:72).

requirement of monolatry which disqualified them from serving any other deities. Stories about God transferring Israel from the power of one king to another were naturally reflected in the language of slavery. Israel had one master to serve and depend upon. Failure to respond in a loyal obedient manner was a rejection of these axioms.

Second, slavery in one form or another was regarded as unavoidable. Israel was never given a choice between slavery and freedom, but between to whom they would be enslaved, whether to God or someone else.[97] Israel did not possess the right of self-determination. The only option was slavery.

Third, in association with these axioms was the emphasis laid on national identity. The Mosaic covenant not only set out legal stipulations to govern Israel's relationship with God, it also distinguished them as a people from all other nations by incorporating slavery's insider/outsider ideology. The prohibitive nature of these stipulations was intended to prevent Israelites from serving other gods and to underscore that they were a nation of slaves to their God/king. Israel's national identity was wrapped up in their classification as God's slaves and prevented them from allowing other Israelites to surrender their national identity by becoming permanently enslaved to anyone other than God. Slavery to God was a description of nationalistic feelings reflected in the axiom of monolatry.

Fourth and finally, the twin axioms of covenant fidelity and monolatry, the inevitability of slavery, and the importance of national identity suggest that the title 'slave of God' occupied an emblematic status. The phrase was not merely a metaphorical image that compared Israel's relationship with God through the institutional language of slavery. The title was a distinctive way of associating the Israelites with God and represented their national history in conjunction with God. To declare oneself a slave of God was to identify with the story of the Exodus, the stipulations of the covenant and the subsequent events that influenced the development of the tradition. As an emblem, the title contained within it the axioms of Israelite religion and the lessons of history. To identify oneself as a slave of God was to make a statement of both religious and national significance.

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[97] Note Joshua 24.14-15 - "Now, therefore, fear the LORD and serve Him in sincerity and truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the River and in Egypt, and serve the LORD. And if it is disagreeable in your sight to serve the LORD, choose for yourselves today whom you will serve: whether the gods which your fathers served which were beyond the River, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you are living; but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD."

Chapter 4

Patterns of Response to Slavery in Early Jewish Literature

Examination of slavery in ancient Israelite traditions revealed the importance of the Exodus as the seminal point for the concept of slavery to God. Not only was it the source of Israel's enslavement to God, but it was also a common point of reference by which Israel's relationship with God was often assessed. Based on the Exodus event God demanded loyal obedient service from Israel. Whenever Israel returned to slavery under a foreign oppressor, such misfortune was interpreted as the result of a failure to provide loyal service to God. Disobedience resulted in exile. Repentance, on the other hand, brought about a return from exile and repositioning as the slaves of God. The return from exile, the reconstitution of the temple and the establishment of a Jewish state did not, however, rule out the possibility or even the threat of re-enslavement under a foreign oppressor. The period between 538 B.C.E. and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. witnessed the oppression and enslavement of Jews by numerous groups culminating with Rome. Some Jewish literature of this period represents an attempt by authors to understand why these events happened and how Jews should respond. Enslavement, whether justified or unjustified, required a rejoinder that could provide a theological explanation for what happened as well as a pattern of response.

4.1 A New Exodus as a Response to Justified Enslavement

The cataclysmic events surrounding the destruction of Jerusalem, the Temple, and captivity of the people in 586 B.C.E. caused some Jews to perceive their status as captives in a foreign land as analogous to Israel's former enslavement in Egypt. In response to this new situation of slavery, some authors began to portray the return from exile as a new Exodus event whereby God would lead them out of captivity and back to the land of Israel.[1] Two particular witnesses to this tendency in Early Judaism are preserved in documents pseudonymously attributed to the prophet Jeremiah and his assistant Baruch.

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[1] Doron Mendels notes: "The Jewish writings from Palestine constitute part of a *Zeitgeist* in the use and reshaping of the past to address present concerns. Although it is not always apparent, Jewish literature abounds in polemical material aimed at the outside world." (1997, 42-43).

4.1.1 1 Baruch

1 Baruch consists of four sections, each almost a genre in itself.[2] The book contains an historical introduction (1.1-14), a corporate confession of sin (1.15-3.8), a eulogy of wisdom (3.9-4.4) and a Psalm for Zion (4.5-5.9).[3] There is virtual consensus that Hebrew was the original language of 1.1-3.8, but there are a variety of opinions as to whether 3.9-5.9 was originally composed in Hebrew or Greek.[4] For the purpose of the present investigation, analysis of 1 Baruch will focus primarily on 1.1-3.8 due to the nature of the material in this section as well as the assistance an original Hebrew source text provides.[5]

A. *Slavery Language in 1 Baruch*

Greek slavery terms in 1.1-3.8 occur four times. Three times with παῖς to describe Moses or prophets as slaves of God (1.20; 2.20, 28), and once with δουλεύειν to describe the captives in relation to the king of Babylon (1.12). On the surface, these terms alone seem to reflect the idea that the Jewish captives are slaves of the king of Babylon, though to what extent is not immediately clear, and that they still understand themselves, or at least those whom God had sent to warn them, as the slaves of God. There are, however, four other occurrences that do not draw on traditional language of enslavement which, when compared to a possible Hebrew source text, reveal more about 1 Baruch's perception of enslavement in Babylon and why it came about.

In 1.22; 2.21, 22, 24 the terms that English editions usually translate as 'service' in the context of other gods and the king of Babylon are based not on common Greek terminology for enslavement but on a peculiar usage of ἐργάζεσθαί which normally means 'to work, perform or accomplish,' but not 'to serve.' In his examination of 1 Baruch in conjunction with LXX-Jeremiah 29-52, Emanuel Tov has demonstrated that whoever was responsible for revising the translation of Jeremiah in the Old Greek did so in the direction of a more precise reflection of a Hebrew source.[6] Tov also demonstrated that the same reviser was responsible for formulating the translation of 1 Baruch 1.1-3.8.[7] In LXX-Jeremiah 34.5 –47.9 ἐργάζεσθαι is used as

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[2] Nickelsburg 1984a, 140.
[3] Mendels 1992, 1: 618-19.
[4] Tov 1975, 7. See also: Mendels 1992, 1:619.
[5] Analysis of 1 Baruch is based on Alfred Rahlfs edition of the Septuagint (1935).
[6] Tov 1976, 43.
[7] Ibid., 112.

a translation for עבד eleven times but does not occur this way anywhere else in the LXX.[8] Because the same reviser worked in 1 Baruch, Tov concluded that occurrences of ἐργάζεσθαι in 1 Baruch could also be understood as translations of עבד. Tov's analysis supports the English translation of ἐργάζεσθαι as 'to serve' and adds to the total occurrences of slavery terminology in 1.1-3.8. When all of the slavery terminology is then examined together the situation in 1 Baruch becomes clear.

According to the author of 1 Baruch, those living as exiles in Babylon are slaves of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (1.12). Compounded with general acts of disobedience against the stipulations of the Mosaic covenant was the exiled people's complicity in serving other gods (1.21-22 - ἐργάζεσθαι θεοῖς ἑτέροις). In response to this disloyal service to God they were commanded by God to 'serve' the king of Babylon (2.21-22 - ἐργάσασθε τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος).[9] They refused, however, to submit and be enslaved to Nebuchadnezzar, and this prompted God to exile them to Babylon (2.24) where serving Nebuchadnezzar was the end result anyway (1.12). As noted above, as God's slaves Israel was expected to serve God through acts of obedience and monolatry. When the people of Israel became disloyal and served other gods, they were oppressed and forced to serve foreigners. 1 Baruch follows this tradition but amends to it the warning that efforts to resist slavery ordained by God will only exacerbate the situation.[10] In 1 Baruch resistance to serving Nebuchadnezzar was perceived as a further act of disobedience towards God that caused the people to be removed from the land. Had they obeyed God and served Nebuchadnezzar they would have remained in the land (2.21). Slavery, in either case, was unavoidable because it was the justified result of their failure to maintain covenant fidelity and monolatry.

B. *Sin-Exile-Return and a New Exodus*

Doron Mendels suggests that the literary unity of 1 Baruch may be identified by the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return*.[11] Israel sins, God exiles them from the land of Israel and then allows them to return. G.W.E. Nickelsburg has recognized a similar pattern of Sin-Exile and suggests that, because much of the language in 1 Baruch reflects the Exodus event, the author was attempting to construe the return from Exile

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[8] Ibid., 50-51, 117. However, see also Jeremiah 30.8 where the same translation strategy occurs.
[9] Compare this with 2 Chronicles 12.8.
[10] For a similar idea and probably a source for 1 Baruch see Jeremiah 27.

as a second Exodus.[12] In 1.19-21 and 2.11-12 God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt is recalled and serves as an introduction to a confession of disobedience against the stipulations of the covenant. In 2.33-35 God promises that when Israel repents of its disobedience God will return them to their land, they will be God's people, and God will establish an everlasting covenant with them that promises never to exile them again. The images of *coming out from* Babylon, becoming the people of God and the reception of a covenant are all analogous to the Israelite experience of *coming out from* Egypt (Ex 19.4-6). The author of 1 Baruch responded to the situation of justified enslavement in Babylon by acknowledging it as a punishment for failure to maintain covenant fidelity and loyal service to God. In addition, the enslavement was interpreted as an opportunity for Israel to be reinstated in its proper position as slaves of God. Slavery and exile were punishments for disloyalty, but were only of a temporary nature.

4.1.2 Paraleipomena Jeremiae

Paraleipomena Jeremiae (*Par. Jer.*) purports to be an account of Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch in the cities of Jerusalem and Babylon during the period of the Judean exile effected by Nebuchadnezzar. It is generally agreed, however, that the book actually dates from the period after the destruction of the Second Temple and may be as late as the Bar Kochba revolt.[13] There is considerable debate as to whether the book is of Jewish or Christian origin. In its present form, it is decidedly Christian, but both Nickelsburg and Stone are inclined to regard it as a Christian reworking of a patently Jewish work.[14] Gerhard Delling is also a proponent of Jewish authorship and argues that it reflects piety and doctrine from the position of a Pharisee.[15] One aspect of Delling's contention for an originally Jewish composition is his suggestion that behind *Par. Jer.* lies a Semitic original used as the source for the present Greek translation.[16] His conclusion is based on several traces of Semitic elements including possible transliterations for Hebrew words, intensive verbs, the use of Greek 'εκ' for Hebrew 'מן' and the redundant use of personal pronouns following a relative

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[11] Mendels 1992, 618.
[12] Nickelsburg 1984a, 141.
[13] The reference to the vineyard of Agrippa in 3.14 provides an opportunity to pinpoint a date. Agrippa's farm is also described by Josephus in Ant 8.7.3.
[14] Nickelsburg, 1984b, 73-74; Stone 1972, 4: 276.
[15] Delling, 1967, 72.
[16] Delling 1967, 72.

pronoun.[17] Greek as the original language has received new support more recently, however, by Brendt Schaller.[18] Examining the Semitic aspects in conjunction with the Greek, Schaller concludes that "the Greek version of *Par. Jer.* is so infused with specifically Greek linguistic elements that there is little scope to make the case for it being a translation. Every linguistic factor speaks for an original Greek text."[19] Schaller suggests that instead of a translation, *Par. Jer.* is a Jewish work written in Greek and "among the few extant literary witnesses of Greek Speaking Jewry from the Jewish Motherland."[20] Thus while a Greek composition is more likely than Hebrew or Aramaic, there still remains a strong Semitic sense to the book.

Considerable attention has also been devoted to a possible reference to Christian baptism in the sign of the great seal at the Jordan (6.25) and of the interpolations that provide a Christian ending (8.12-9.32).[21] Nickelsburg points out, however, that the events at the Jordan easily point to circumcision and that the author clearly likens the return from Babylon to the Exodus with Jeremiah's role analogous to those of Moses and Joshua. Furthermore, none of the references to the eschaton in chapters 1-8 refer to Christ, but are in expectation of the return to Jerusalem and resumption of the temple cult. Nickelsburg suggests that if a Jewish origin is accepted, then the message of the book can be framed as an appeal for Jews to prepare themselves for return.[22] Consequently, while it is not impossible that Christians could have composed a document that is not explicitly Christian, the weight of the evidence suggests that *Par. Jer.* contains Christian insertions, but retains a distinct Jewish origin.

A. *Sin-Exile-Return and a New Exodus*

Similar to 1 Baruch is the response pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return* in *Par. Jer.* In 4.7-10 Baruch's lament over the exile explains that the desolation of Jerusalem occurred because of the people's sin and not because of the power of their enemies. God has handed the city over as punishment for their sin and eventually will return them to Jerusalem. The statement in 6.22-24 further emphasizes this explanation:

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[17] Robinson 1985, 2:414.
[18] Schaller 2000, 51-89.
[19] Ibid., 73.
[20] Ibid., 89.
[21] Robinson 1985, 415.
[22] Nickelsburg 1984b, 73.

> "The people were sent into the *furnace of Babylon* because they had failed to keep the Lord's commands after they were brought out of the *furnace of Egypt*".

As noted by Nickelsburg, there is a deliberate comparison being made between Israel's *furnace* experience in the Babylonian exile and their former experience in Egyptian slavery. The appeal to the Exodus establishes the authority upon which God condemns the people's disobedience. Because Israel failed to keep commandments associated with the Exodus, they were subjected to a situation similar to their enslavement in Egypt. Those who repent and obey the Lord will be returned to Jerusalem through a new Exodus event which includes not only a deliverance from slavery in a foreign land but also a second crossing of the Jordan into the promised land (6.25).

B. *Slavery Language in Paraleipomena Jeremiae*

Language of enslavement occurs several times in *Par. Jer.* In 1.1, 2.7, 5.19 and 6.20 the αἰχμάλωτος word group describes the situation of the exiles in Babylon.[23] In 1.4; 3.13; and 6.10 δοῦλος is the self-identification adopted by both Jeremiah and Baruch as they petition God.[24] In 6.17 δοῦλος appears again but as a self-identification used by Baruch in an epistolary greeting addressed to Jeremiah. The only occurrence of παῖς in *Par. Jer.* is in 6.22 as a description of Jeremiah by God. Similar to 1 Baruch, the language indicates that captivity/slavery under Babylon is a result of disobedience (2.2-7).[25]

The status of Jeremiah and Baruch as slaves of God seems to create an implicit division between them and the captives. In 1.1-4 Jeremiah is the slave of God who is provided the opportunity to flee Jerusalem with Baruch before its impending captivity and destruction. In 2.15, however, the situation changes and Jeremiah is commanded to go to Babylon and preach to the people during their captivity while Baruch remains in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The author's portrayal of Jeremiah and Baruch is as

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[23] As noted in Chapter One, although αἰχμάλωτος is not a slavery term it often represent a conceptual synonym for slavery by the way it is used in this literature (See §2.2.1).

[24] A variant of 6.10 changes the terms from single into plural. The Ethiopic, which is a translation of the Greek, favors the singular rendering of the terminology, but Codex Braidensis and Codex 34 S. Sepulcari favor the plural. This change allows the prayer of Baruch to include Abimelech in the petition process. In his Greek text, Harrison chose to use the singular form of the verse while Robinson chooses the plural form. Both seem to be acceptable. See Harris, 1889, 26-29, 55; See also Robinson 1985, 421.

God's slaves who are not punished with the people, but are continuing in obedience to God. As the slave of God, Jeremiah preaches to those captive in a foreign land and will, like a second Moses or Joshua, lead the people in a second Exodus, across the Jordan and back into the Promised Land (6.24-25; 8.1-3).

Baruch's identification as ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ in 6.10 is distinctive for two reasons. First, it seems to be the only such epistolary usage in early Judaism. The only other similar occurrences are the phrases δοῦλος χριστοῦ and δοῦλος θεοῦ found in some NT epistles.[26] Second, including Ezra 5.11 and LXX-Jonah 1.9, this is only the third time in Jewish literature that an individual identifies himself as a slave of God to someone else. The more common usage is through an identification made either by God or by those outside of the covenant community of Israel.[27] The usage in *Par. Jer.* is between two insiders of the covenant community, however, and seems to be an attempt to accentuate the separation that the author perceives between the exiled people and those who have remained obedient to God.

C. *Insider/Outsider Ideology in Paraleipomena Jeremiae*

By creating a separation between Baruch and Jeremiah and the Exiles, *Par. Jer.* gives the insider/outsider ideology of slavery to God a new perspective. In both LXX-Jonah 1.9 and Ezra 5.11 self-identification as a slave of God distinguished those who obeyed God as the insiders from those not associated with God (i.e. non-Israelites) as outsiders. In *Par. Jer.*, however, the insider/outsider ideology does not make a distinction between those associated with God and those who are not, but between those who are *obedient* to God and those who are *not obedient*. When Baruch is made to write: "βαροὺχ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ Ὁ ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος" it demonstrates that he is not part of the captivity/slavery resulting from disobedience of God but rather is one who has remained an obedient slave of God.[28] This is also Jeremiah's status. Although the greeting of the epistle locates Jeremiah as living in Babylon among the captives, he is nonetheless the obedient slave of God in that place (6.24); a distinction is made

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[25] The comparison of the Babylonian captivity with Exodus from Egypt suggests that it was perceived as slavery. Isaiah 14.3, Jer 5.19, 27.8, and Lamentations 1.1 also perceive captivity in Babylon as enslavement.

[26] *Par. Jer.* is a 'fictive' epistle, however, unlike those in the in the NT which are genuine.

[27] See "The Insider/Outsider Ideology of Slavery to God" in § 3.4.

[28] Delling has commented on the phrase and says: "*Wenn Baruch in seinem Brief an Jermia eingangs als ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ bezeichnet wird, so ist diese Selbstprädikation Ausdurck seiner Unterordnung unter Gott*" (1967, 27).

between Jeremiah and the captives. Jeremiah and Baruch are the insiders who obeyed God in contrast to their fellow compatriots who have become outsiders based on their disobedience. Baruch's greeting is from one obedient slave of God (insider) to another.

4.2 A Pattern of Response to Unjustified Enslavement

A dilemma that confronted some Jewish authors, if not many Jews, during the Second Temple period was how to respond to situations of unjustified enslavement. Although loyal and obedient service to God had not been compromised, especially through service to other gods, slavery under a foreign oppressor still remained a distinct possibility. This represented a sort of cognitive dissonance requiring a response that could incorporate the reality of the situation within the theological framework of what it meant to be a loyal slave of God. Similar to situations of justified slavery, situations of unjustified slavery also reveal a pattern of response.

4.2.1 Judith

The fictional and historically confused book of Judith is an account of how a Jewish widow saves her people from entering captivity and enslavement under Nebuchadnezzar. "This rousing story combines a clarion call for militant defense of political and religious freedom with a scrupulous observance of the Torah."[29] Similar to 1 Baruch, it is commonly agreed that Judith is a Jewish work originally composed in Hebrew.[30] Judith's response to the question of enslavement, however, reveals a different perspective than that of 1 Baruch and *Par. Jer.* While the latter two respond to situations of justified enslavement through a pattern of Sin-Exile-Return in the imagery of a second Exodus, Judith proposes a response to situations in which enslavement is not justified but nonetheless poses a very real threat. This is accomplished by creating a contrast between two opposing kings, Nebuchadnezzar and God. Similar to the conflict between God and Pharaoh in Exodus, the plot in Judith centers on who will be king over Israel and whom Israel will serve.[31] In this conflict slavery language plays an important role as it demonstrates the struggle for power and the right to rule the world.

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[29] Helyer 2000, 625.
[30] Zimmerman 1938, 67-74.
[31] See § 3.3.

A. *Slavery Language and Nebuchadnezzar*

Slavery language in Judith is used in association with Nebuchadnezzar more often than with God.[32] When combined with other descriptions of the 'Assyrian' king the author of Judith creates a picture that would usually be expected to describe the God of Israel and not a gentile king.[33] Nebuchadnezzar claims to be the king of all the earth (2.5) and those who follow him consider him the only true God (6.2 - τίς θεὸς εἰ μὴ Ναβουχοδονοσορ).[34] As God he requires loyal obedient service while service to other gods is prohibited and the implements of worship destroyed (3.8). Those who follow him in loyal obedient service are his slaves (3.1-4; 6.3 - ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ) and he offers protection to those slaves (11.1, 4).[35] On the other hand, those who refuse to obey are punished with destruction, captivity and death (2.3, 9-11).[36] Acting as a representative of his power and authority is his slave Holofernes who obeys and fulfills every command of his lord (2.14; 11.4). Through Holofernes all of creation, man and beast, will be enslaved to Nebuchadnezzar (11.7). The picture the author creates of Nebuchadnezzar is of a usurper who seeks to displace God and set himself up as God instead.

B. *Slavery Language and the God of Israel*

When the author's descriptions of God are examined the intended contrast with Nebuchadnezzar is apparent. Regardless of Nebuchadnezzar's claims, it is God who is the only true God (9.14 - σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους). Nebuchadnezzar may claim to be the king of the whole earth, but God is creator of the world and therefore the *de facto* king of every creature (9.12). As a result, all of creation is enslaved to God, which with the status as creator would also include Nebuchadnezzar (16.14 - σοὶ δουλευσάτω πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις σου). It is God, not Nebuchadnezzar, who will protect Israel (9.14 - οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὑπερασπίζων

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[32] The reason for this may be because of the lengths the author takes to establish Nebuchadnezzar's character as the antithesis to commonly understood concepts about Israel's relationship with God.
[33] In many ways the description of Nebuchadnezzar in Judith is a parody of Israel's God.
[34] Compare this with similar statements in Daniel 3.15.
[35] Judith does not have any preferred Greek term for slavery; thus two different terms appear in a single passage. 3.1 - Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς οἱ παῖδες Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλέως μεγάλου; 3.4 - ἰδοὺ καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐταῖς δοῦλοι σοί εἰσιν. Morton S. Enslin also notes the variant terms and states that both are certainly a translation from the single Hebrew term עבד (Enslin 1972, 75).
[36] The execution of those who resist is an aspect of State slavery. Nebuchadnezzar's command reflects efforts by the Egyptians in Exodus 1.15-22 to murder the male Israelite infants and the legislation of Deuteronomy 20.10-18. Those who cannot or will not be subjected to state slavery by a foreign power must be eliminated.

τοῦ γένους Ισραηλ εἰ μὴ σύ) and, like Nebuchadnezzar, God has, in the person of Judith, a slave who will lead her people in service of the true God (11.17 - θεραπεύουσα . . . τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[37]

C. *The response to Unjustified Slavery*

There are two responses to the situation of threatened enslavement in Judith. When Holofernes lays siege to Bethulia the initial response of the people is that surrender and becoming Nebuchadnezzar's slaves are the only way to save their lives (7.27 - ἐσόμεθα γὰρ εἰς δούλους, καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν). Judith, however, rejects this response. She considers the claims of Nebuchadnezzar and the threat of unjustified slavery to be an attack on Israel's covenant with God (9.13). She concludes that, unlike their ancestors, the current generation of Jews is not guilty of the act of worshipping other gods (8.18), which is the only reason why they would be handed over to captivity (8.22). To surrender when they are not guilty would not mean gaining God's favor (8.23 -ὅτι οὐ κατευθυνθήσεται ἡ δουλεία ἡμῶν εἰς χάριν).[38] Thus, Judith's counsel, unlike 1 Baruch, is to resist slavery. 1 Baruch warned against the consequences of resisting justified slavery. Judith warns against the consequence of accepting unjustified slavery. Both consider such actions to be contrary to obedience to God. For the author of Judith, the act of willingly serving another king/God when not explicitly commanded to do so is a breach of Israel's covenant with God.

There are two aspects that comprise resistance to unjustified slavery in Judith. The first aspect is found in 8.24-27 where Bethulia's leaders are encouraged to be an example of *enduring obedience* in difficult times since people are sometimes tested as were the patriarchs before them. Associated with *enduring obedience* is the second aspect of *humility*. Seven occurrences of ταπεινός describe the oppressive situation and the response of the people. In 6.19, 7.32, and 13.20 the city is described as

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[37] Some English translations render the θεραπεύουσα in Judith's statement as *worship* rather than *service*. The context of Judith's action taking place "day and night" could suggest this possibility, but the evidence seems to point in favor of *service* rather than *worship*. If the author intended the terminology to indicate *worship* it would be the only such occurrence in the book that did not use λατρεύειν to communicate the idea of worship. Supportive of *service* is a Hebrew text of Judith from an unknown origin that renders θεραπεύουσαwith עבד. If the Hebrew transcriber had understood the verse as referring to *worship* the expected term would be שׁחח rather than עבד. It is possible that the mixture of slavery terms in this verse prompted the Greek translator to use a different term to minimize confusion, but it is impossible to know for sure. In any case the Hebrew original was probably עבד. See Gaster 1894, 156-163. A copy of the text can also be found in Enslin 1972, 186.

[38] The use of δουλεία in 8.23 following the discussion of the αἰχμαλωσία of the land in 8.22 supports the suggestion that captivity was associated with slavery in the Jewish mind.

humbled by the Assyrian siege, which also describes Israel's position as slaves in Egypt (5.1). Self-humility is the response of Bethulia's people to the situation (4.9) because God is the God of the humble (9.11). Furthermore, those who humble themselves will subsequently rejoice in triumph when God defeats their enemies (16.11). By presenting the position of the Jews in this way, the author shows that when oppressed people *humble* themselves before God and remain *obedient*, they can depend upon God's help. When Israel was enslaved in Egypt they were *humbled.* Now that 'Assyria' threatens them with enslavement they are being *humbled* again. By remaining *obedient* to God and enduring an oppressive situation with *humility* they may be assured that God will bring them triumph over their enemies.

Judith's response to unjustified enslavement contrasts with the response to justified slavery in 1 Baruch and *Par. Jer.* The interpretive response to justified slavery was acceptance through the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return.* Judith does not reveal such a pattern. Instead the author of Judith encourages resistance to slavery, when it is unjustified, through a pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* When Jews are not guilty of disloyal service to God by serving other gods, they cannot accept a position of slavery. Instead, the proper response is of *self-humility*, e*nduring obedience* and patience for *God to exalt them* over their enemies.

4.2.2 The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Levi and Joseph)

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*T. 12 Patr.*) are the purported last words of the sons of Jacob. Common features in each of the *Testaments* are the gathering of family at the time of the patriarch's death, a review of the patriarch's life through a mixture of canonical and apocryphal events, and a set of final instructions/warnings about living in righteousness. While the *Testaments* are acknowledged to not be the actual last words of the patriarchs, there has been significant debate as to the nature of their composition. This debate centers around whether the Testaments were, as a whole, Jewish or Christian in composition.

"The dominant view is that Jews first wrote the *Testaments*, and only later were they redacted to serve the interests of the early Christian movement."[39] F. Shnapp articulated this hypothesis in 1884. Through literary-critical analysis Shnapp concluded that the *Testaments* first existed as a Jewish composition that underwent Jewish redaction, which introduced apocalyptic material, and then a Christian

[39] Kugler 2001, 31.

redaction, which added more eschatological material. Shnapp's hypothesis has been adopted and reworked over the last century by numerous scholars including R.H. Charles, J. Becker, H.C. Kee, and J.H. Ulrichsen.[40]

M. de Jonge, however, has argued that the *Testaments* are not Jewish but Christian documents that draw from Jewish sources and are the product of the early Church dating to around the late second and early third century C.E.[41] De Jonge concludes that the *Testaments* were written by Christians adapting Jewish themes and sources to fit a specifically Christian message. He agrees that the documents probably underwent a long redaction history, which included a lengthy period in Jewish circles in which they may have developed. However, de Jonge also insists that it is impossible to get behind the texts of the Testaments and discover a pre-Christian, Jewish *Vorlage*.[42]

The approach taken by this thesis is similar to that of John J. Collins who acknowledges the presence of Christian interpolations, but concludes that much of the material is compatible with either Jewish or Christian authorship.[43] The presence of fragments that parallel the content of the *Testaments* seems to suggest a set of pre-Christian traditions. The genealogy of Bilhah in the Hebrew Qumran fragment 4Q215 contains a significant parallel with the Greek *T. Naphtali*.[44] Similarly, the Aramaic Qumran fragments 1Q21 and 4Q213-214 also preserve texts partially overlapping with the Greek *T. Levi*. Added to this are the fragments from the Cairo Geniza that also contain parallels. While these fragments are probably not Hebrew/Aramaic *Testaments*, they do witness to the presence of a set of common traditions surrounding these patriarchs in Early Judaism.[45] Furthermore, Robert Kugler, who is a proponent of de Jonge's hypothesis, has concluded, "that in addition to addressing Christian believers, the *Testaments* rhetoric could easily have testified to

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[40] For a summary and analysis of the views of these scholars see: De Jonge 1953; Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 1-8; Kugler, 31-35.
[41] de Jonge, 1953; and 1975, 183-316.
[42] For a summary of de Jonge's hypothesis including the adjustments he has made to his hypothesis over 50 years see: Kugler 2001, 35-37.
[43] Collins 1984, 339.
[44] M.E. Stone notes that the Qumran fragment demonstrates the existence of a Naphtali tradition in the Second Temple period that is also picked up by the author of Greek *T. Naphtali* (1996a, 20-36; 1996b, 311-321).
[45] H.C. Kee has concluded: "the *Testaments* are clearly dependent upon the Septuagint for references to Scripture. This indicates that they were written after 250 B.C., when the LXX was completed. The emphasis throughout on the dual messianic roles of king and priest – highlighting the descendants of Judah and Levi - fits well with the Maccabean period of Jewish History" (2000, 1201).

Jews as well."[46] Kugler suggests that the testimony concerning Israel's ancestors in the *Testaments* could have been used by Christians to urge Jews to accept Jesus and his teaching. Thus, even if the *Testaments* were composed as Christian documents, the content would have an appeal to both Jews and Christians. Consequently, the presence of parallel material and themes makes an assessment of the *Testaments*, in light of Jewish literature, possible.[47]

A. *Themes of Slavery and Obedience*

Similar to 1 Baruch and *Par. Jer.* is the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return.*[48] The language of captivity and slavery is often used in tandem with one another as part of a warning of punishment for disobedience. In the *Testaments of Levi, Judah, Issachar* and *Naphtali* readers are warned that the continuation of evil practices will cause desolation of the land followed by captivity and slavery.[49] Sin is defined broadly as abandoning the Lord's commands, participating in the practices of gentiles, and by the condemning phrase "every lawlessness of Sodom." Those who participate in these practices can expect to be exiled from their homes and enslaved to foreigners as a recompense for sin. When they repent and obey God, they will be released from enslavement to their enemies and returned to their land.

T. 12 Patr. is distinctive among the other Jewish literature examined thus far in that obedience is not emphasized through fidelity with covenant stipulations but adherence to natural law. The Law of Moses, or Torah, is a central feature and an object of devotion (*T. Levi* 13:1-9), yet its moral requirements are articulated through Stoic terminology and ideas.[50] Law is treated as a virtual synonym for wisdom and has a more universal application than would the Torah under the rabbis. This change in the perception of the Law represents a shift away from legal requirements, as found in a covenant relationship, to more general ideas of moral obligation and obedience compatible with the concept of universal law of nature.[51] Maintenance of this moral obligation and obedience is incorporated into a response to enslavement.

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[46] Kugler 2001, 38.
[47] In this thesis all of the themes that are examined in conjunction with *T.12 Patr.* have numerous parallels in other Jewish literature and therefore do not represent material distinct to the *Testaments*.
[48] De Jonge 1976, 196-211.
[49] *T. Levi* 10.4; 15.2; 17.9; *T. Jud.* 23; *T. Iss.* 6; *T. Naph.* 4.
[50] Kee 2000, 1201.
[51] Kee 1978, 780.

B. *A Response to Slavery in The Testament of Levi*

In Judith, readers were encouraged to resist unjustified captivity and enslavement. *T. Levi*, however, allows for the possibility and even the willing acceptance of unjustified captivity and enslavement. In Judith, the key to exaltation over one's enemies as well as *protection from* captivity and enslavement was humility and obedience during an oppressive situation. In *T. Levi*, self-humiliation and obedience *in the midst of* a situation of captivity and enslavement is what provides protection from as well as exaltation over one's enemies. *T. Levi* instructs readers how to respond when enslavement has occurred even though loyal obedience to God has been maintained.

In chapter 13, *T. Levi* instructs readers to follow God's commands and acquire wisdom because this will bring honor and respect (1-6). More important though, is that those who are obedient and wise need not fear captivity (ἐάν γένηται αἰχμαλωσία v.7).[52] This is not because obedience prevents captivity, but because it guarantees preservation during an unjust captivity (ἐν μέσῳ ἐχθρῶν εὑρεθήσεται φίλος v. 8). Those who maintain obedience in an oppressive circumstance will find that in spite of their captivity they will be exalted over their enemies. This claim is offered support by the illustration of Joseph who, though enslaved, continued to practice good things, was exalted over his enemies and enthroned with the king (v. 9 - ἐάν διδάσκῃ τοῦτα καὶ πράττῃ σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέων ὡς καὶ Ἰωσηφ ὁ αδελφὸς ἡμῶν).[53] This appeal to the figure of Joseph by *T. Levi* is part of a broader concept in some early Jewish literature that portrays Joseph as the model of moral attributes.[54] Because a significant amount of material in early Judaism is devoted to the post-biblical figure of Joseph, his response to unjustified enslavement will be examined in a separate section below.[55] At this juncture, however, it will suffice to observe the repetition of the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern that is present in the testament bearing his name.

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[52] Quotes from *T. 12 Patr.* are taken from 1978 and Denis 1987.
[53] Hollander and De Jonge comment: "The point of comparison here seems to be not so much [Joseph's] wisdom as his faithfulness to God and his perseverance in distress followed by a reward in the form of a king's throne (Hollander 1985, 167).
[54] See for instance descriptions of Joseph in the writings of Philo, Josephus and *Joseph and Aseneth*.
[55] See below § 7.4 and 10.3.

C. *A Response to Slavery in The Testament of Joseph*

T. Joseph begins with a thanksgiving hymn that provides a summary of the author's interpretation of the Joseph story found in Genesis.[56] The hymn contains thirteen strophes each beginning with a negative statement contrasted by a positive. At the beginning of these contrasts is Joseph's claim that he never went astray, but continued in the truth of the Lord (v. 3). From the negative side of the contrasts, the reader learns of all the hardships Joseph experienced both at the hands of his brothers and as a captive and slave in Egypt (ἐπράθην εἰς δουλον . . . αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐλήφθην v.5). From the positive side, the reader learns how God responded to the hardship Joseph suffered. The final contrasting line ends the hymn with the statement "I was a Slave and He exalted me"[57] (ἐν φθόνοις συνδούλων και ὕψωσέ με v.7).[58] The hymn serves as a microcosm for the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* that is woven into *T. Joseph.*[59] Joseph remained obedient to God, was aided in his time of captivity and enslavement and exalted over his circumstances and enemies. The remainder of the testament focuses on the attempt of Pentephris's wife to commit adultery with Joseph. Joseph's struggle with her is divided into two halves within chapters 2-18 interspersed by three statements. These statements reassert Joseph's innocence and highlight his response to his situation through the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.*[60]

The first statement is in chapter 2 where Joseph declares that although he had suffered a terrible ordeal, God did not abandon him, but merely stepped aside in order to test his perseverance. This is reminiscent of Judith's statements to the magistrates of Bethulia in which she reminds them that God sometimes tests people and that it is important to remain obedient during the testing period (Jdt. 8.24-27).

The second statement is found in chapter 10. Here Joseph pauses to encourage the reader to examine his example of self-control. In the context of the narrative, self-control may be equated with Joseph's continued determination to honor the

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[56] Hollander 1981, 17-21.
[57] The language of exaltation is only applied to Joseph in *T. 12 Patr.* (Hollander 1981, 41).
[58] While the more literal translation of 1.7 is *envied by my fellow slaves*, I have chosen to follow Kee's translation which allows Joseph's position as a slave to be stated more emphatically without substantially altering the sense of the passage (Kee, 1983, 819). Both translations contrast Joseph's position as a slave with his subsequent exaltation by God but Kee's translation has more congruity with the theme of exaltation that spans the book.
[59] Hollander noticed a similar pattern in association with Joseph that he identified as Humiliation – Exaltation (1981, 42). The above pattern merely incorporates the idea of obedience that is a prominent characteristic of the Testament's statements about Joseph.

commands of God and not to commit adultery with the Memphian woman. Joseph tells the reader that the Lord will dwell among those who are lovers of self-control (obedience) and that no matter what evil may happen, even slavery, the Lord will not only rescue them but will also exalt and glorify them as He did for Joseph: (10.3 Κἄν τις περιπέσῃ . . . δουλείᾳ . . . κύριος . . . οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν κακῶν ῥύεται ἀλλά καὶ ὑψοῖ και δοξάζει αὐτόν ὡς κἀμέ).

The concluding statement of chapter eighteen again promises the reader that obedience to God's commands will lead to exaltation: ἐὰν πορεύθητε ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς κυρίου ὑψεῖ ὑμᾶς (18.1). Included with this promise are instructions that those who are threatened should respond by praying for their enemies and continuing to do good things while remaining confident that the Lord will rescue them. Joseph finishes by reiterating that his own *humility* and *enduring obedience* led to his *exaltation* by God and caused a reversal of the situation that required his enemies to serve him: ὅτι κύριος μοι αὐτους ἐδούλωσεν (18.3).[61]

4.3 Conclusion

The patterns of *Sin-Exile-Return* and *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* represent two sides of the same coin. The power struggles between Persia, Greece, Rome and others made slavery an inevitable aspect of early Jewish experience. Instead of questioning the theological viability of slavery, some Jews during this period focused on how to respond to it. In those situations where authors perceived that Jews had abrogated covenant fidelity and monolatry enslavement was regarded as justified and responded to with the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return* (1 Baruch, *Par. Jer.*). When, on the other hand, no evidence of disloyalty was found, authors concluded that slavery was unjustified and posed a test of their loyal obedience. The response formulated for this situation was the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* (Judith, *T. 12. Patr.*).

These patterns were not always uniform in response, however. Some viewed unjustified slavery as a situation that must be proactively resisted through the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern (Judith). Others concluded the experience of slavery could be embraced and thus overcome through the same pattern (*T. 12. Patr.*). Both used a similar pattern to respond to unjustified slavery, but applied it

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[60] Hollander and De Jonge 1985, 362.

[61] Hollander and De Jonge 1981, 363. Descriptions of Joseph's humility and subsequent exaltation by God may also be found in 1.7, 10.1-5, and 17.8 all of which will be examined more fully below in §7.4.

differently. In both cases, the result was triumph and exaltation over those who attempted to enforce unjustified enslavement.

The *T. 12 Patr.* introduces a shift in this literature. Rather than anchoring obedience to God predominantly in the covenant stipulations of Torah, the authors emphasized a Stoic notion of a universal encompassing law. This shift is even more pronounced in the works of Josephus and Philo, both of whom considered obedience to God to be the obligation of all humanity and not just Jews. Important still, however, is the notion of obedience to God as a way of counteracting alternative forms of slavery.

The variety of responses to slavery indicates the presence of a dialogue that was taking place within early Judaism. Writers who attempted to reconcile the tension between ideological and physical slavery were, in effect, making suggestions of what it meant for Jews to be slaves of God and how the obligations of the enslavement were worked out within their contemporary context. Some writers believed that slavery to God required obedience to covenant stipulations and a resistance to unjustified slavery. Others believed, however, that the requirements of slavery to God were fulfilled through obedience to a more universal law and within the context of enslavement under a foreign oppressor. Supporters of these varying opinions set the ideological stage for a more direct conflict among themselves as will be observed in the writings of Josephus.

Chapter 5

Responses to Slavery in the Writings of Flavius Josephus

The previous chapter demonstrated that even though Jews considered themselves as the slaves of God, they were often forced to explain why they experienced episodes of slavery under foreign oppressors and to consider how they should respond. A significant contribution to the internal dialogue about how Jews should interpret and respond to such episodes is found in the works of Josephus. Without entering into the more complicated question of the historiographic value and accuracy of Josephus, the aim of the present chapter is to examine the evidence as presented by the author. Such an approach makes it possible to determine ideological and thematic tendencies in Josephus that may be similar to those of his contemporaries.[1] The two main works of Josephus, the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities of the Jews*, will be the focus of the investigation.[2]

5.1 Covenant and Slavery in the Antiquities of the Jews

In much of the Jewish literature examined thus far, covenantal fidelity was a defining characteristic of the slaves of God.[3] Failure to fulfill covenant stipulations was perceived as disloyalty to God which in turn resulted in slavery under a foreign oppressor. It is necessary, then, to determine to what degree these ideas are or are not reflected in Josephus's works as well as any influence they exercised on his perception of Jews as the slaves of God. Because these themes often involve aspects of Israel's history, the majority of this material may be found in the *Antiquities of the Jews*.

5.1.1 Covenant in Antiquities

When attempting an analysis of Josephus' view of covenant, an unexpected discovery is made; there is a complete absence of covenant language. The concept of covenant as that which demarcates Israel's special relationship with God is missing. One indication of the displacement of the covenant theme, as pointed out by Harold

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[1] The approach taken here focuses on how Josephus responded to slavery and, as best can be determined, is the first time such an approach has been undertaken. Consequently, while there is interaction with other scholars on various aspects of Josephus, there is little dialogue with others about the way Josephus responds to slavery.

[2] Josephus's *Life* and *Against Apion* are, for the most part, not relevant to the current study. All quotations from Josephus are taken from Thackeray, *et al*. 1926-1965.

Attridge, is that in *Antiquities* explicit descriptions of an agreement made between God and humanity have been deleted.[4] For instance, in Josephus' account of Noah, the explicit covenant material has been omitted and only the rainbow remains (1.103). With respect to Genesis 15, the ceremonial division of the animals is no longer part of a covenant but is simply a sacrifice offered by Abraham (1.185). Circumcision is no longer a sign of the covenant but merely a distinguishing trait of Abraham's offspring (1.192). Even more significant is that none of the material surrounding the events at Sinai and the giving of the law mentions covenant as part of the process.

The absence of covenant language does not, of course, suggest the lack of a special relationship between God and Israel in Josephus' works. Such a relationship does exist, but is emphasized by Josephus in other ways.[5] Israel is still a chosen race favored over all peoples (3.313). This is clearly demonstrated after Josephus's account of the Red Sea episode, and again, of Balaam's oracle in which God is declared the ally (συμμαχία) and protector of Israel (2.332; 4.114, 128). Instead of interpreting it as a religious agreement, Josephus bases the relationship on providence. God provides aid and protection to a favored people and they respond with loyalty and obedience.[6] Attridge believes that this shift away from covenant is due to Josephus' perception of the universality of God and the law in order to avoid a narrow focus on a single people as would be normally found in a covenant.[7] The language does not suggest a formal long-term commitment on the part of God to act on behalf of the Israelites. Instead, it refers more to God's role in a time of need than to a fundamental underlying agreement that characterizes a relationship with Israel throughout.[8]

Paul Spilsbury has suggested that Josephus' own experience in a patron-client relationship may help to explain the shift away from covenant.[9] The Greco-Roman patron-client relationship was an arrangement whereby an inferior (the client) would

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[3] The exception to this was *T. 12. Patr.* which replaced covenant fidelity with the notion of obedience to universal law.
[4] Attridge 1976, 80.
[5] Ibid., 83.
[6] Ibid., 79.
[7] Ibid., 81.
[8] Ibid., 82.
[9] Spilsbury is careful to acknowledge that this relationship was not the only influence on Josephus, but suggests that it offers one avenue of understanding how Josephus related his message in the material (Spilsbury 1998, 173).

entrust himself to one more powerful than himself (the patron).[10] In return for protection and various gifts from the patron, the client demonstrated loyalty by performing designated services for the patron.[11] As a client of the Flavian household, Josephus received Roman citizenship as well as land, exemption from taxes and the suppression of his enemies.[12] Because Josephus was writing for a Greek as well as a Jewish audience, he used language and imagery that would have been readily understood by his readers.[13]

By using the patron-client relationship, Josephus was able to communicate the nature of Israel's special relationship with God. Josephus perceived it as based on providence reciprocated by loyalty and obedience. Israel was provided with benefits from God including freedom from slavery, protection from enemies and the possession of land.[14] A significant benefit in this relationship, Spilsbury suggests, is the giving of the Law to Israel.[15] In *Antiquities* 4.315-19, Josephus refers to the Law as a gift (δωρεά) from God, the greatest of all the benefits the Jews received. Neglect of these laws jeopardized Israel's relationship with God. Because the Law was God's primary act of benefaction to Israel, Spilsbury determines that, for Josephus, obedience to the law was at the heart of the relationship between God and the Jews.[16] Attridge draws a similar conclusion, noting that for Josephus it was confidence in God's providence that motivated obedience to the commands.[17]

The proem to *Antiquities* confirms that, for Josephus, it was obedience to the law that determined Israel's relationship with God. This relationship was not, however, the exclusive benefit of being a Jew but was intended for all of humanity. In *Antiquities* 1.14 Josephus says:

> " . . . the main lesson to be learnt from this history . . . is that men who conform to the will of God, and do not venture to transgress (the) laws . . . prosper in all things beyond belief, and for their reward are offered by God felicity; whereas, in proportion as they depart from the strict observances of these laws, things (else) practicable become impracticable and whatever imaginary good things they strive to do ends in irretrievable disasters."

And in 1.20 he says:

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[10] de Silva 2000, 95-104. See Chow 1992, 31.
[11] Kirschenbaum 1987, 127ff.
[12] Concerning Josephus's clientage with the Flavian household, see *Life 422-499*.
[13] Feldman 2000, 592. See also Josephus' own comments (*Ant. 1.2-9*).
[14] Spilsbury 1998, 182. See also: *Ant* 2.268-69; 3.300 as well as 3.19, 44-46, 64; 4.294.
[15] Ibid., 185.
[16] Ibid., 186.
[17] Attridge 1976, 88, 107.

> " . . . God, as the universal Father and Lord who beholds all things, grants to such as follows him a life of bliss, but involves in dire calamities those who step outside the path of virtue."

These passages represent Josephus' perception of the world in relation to God. All humanity, not just Jews, come under an obligation to be obedient to the laws of God. Those who fulfill the commands of God will be rewarded appropriately. Those who neglect the commands of God will be punished. The deletion of covenant material may be attributed, therefore, to Josephus' conviction that God was the universal Lord and that all people, not just Jews, were in a position of obligation to, as well as benefaction from, God. The basis of the relationship was God's providence and protection, which was reciprocated by loyalty and obedience on the part of the client.

5.1.2 Slavery in Antiquities

In the Jewish literature examined thus far, the punishment most often connected with Israel's failure to obey the covenant stipulations was exile encapsulated in the pattern of Sin-Exile-Return. Just as Josephus does not use covenant terminology to characterize Israel's relationship with God, he does not use exile terminology to describe their punishment.[18] Instead he prefers the language of slavery and captivity.[19] Feldman suggests that Josephus no longer regarded the physical land of Israel to be of any value and viewed the Diaspora as a positive development for Judaism.[20] In light of Josephus's perception of covenant, Feldman's suggestion is attractive. Without a covenant there is no need for Judaism to be centralized in Palestine because all of humanity, not only Jews, were under the universal lordship and law of God. In Josephus's patron-client interpretation of Israel's relationship with God, punishment for disobedience was no longer interpreted as separation from the Jewish homeland, but as a restriction of freedom and any possible benefits that the client may have been receiving.[21]

Evidence that Josephus connected the results of disobedience to God with slavery is found clearly in two passages. In *Antiquities* 4.311-14, he provides a

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[18] Josephus never uses φυγή (exile) in conjunction with the events of 722-721 and 586 B.C.E. or in conjunction with criminal banishment (Feldman 1997, 147).
[19] For example in *Antiquities* 11.1-2 Josephus' discussion of the Jews in Babylon is described by the terms αἰχμαλσία and δουλεία and not as φυγήν. In addition to the language of captivity and slavery is the idea of being "carried away" which is similar to captivity and avoids the idea of exile. For more examples see Feldman 1997, 147-48.
[20] Feldman 1997, 149.
[21] Compare this with the Jewish literature examined in the previous chapter that consistently interpreted exile to be the result of disobedience. See especially § 4.1.

paraphrased edition of Moses' final speech contained in Deuteronomy 28-30. The speech emphasizes the need for obedience to the law and proclaims that if it is transgressed, the land will be filled with enemies, the Temple destroyed, and the people punished. But the reference to God's "scattering" (וְהֵפִיצְךָ) of the people found in Deuteronomy 28.64 is omitted and replaced with a promise to be sold into slavery (δουλεία).[22] Josephus does not connect disobedience with the Diaspora but rather equates it with oppression by foreigners, the destruction of the Temple and the entrance into slavery. This is emphasized again in *Antiquities* 20.164-66 where Josephus concludes that because of the lawlessness of the Zealots and their disregard for the sanctity of the Temple, God abandoned the Temple and sent the Romans to afflict them with slavery.

Another thing that Josephus omits from his material is the concept of a return. While much of the Jewish literature of this period contains a pattern of Sin-Exile-Return, Josephus instead opts for a scheme of incorrigible sin followed by the withdrawal of God's favor.[23] In his recounting of Moses' speech Josephus not only substituted slavery for "scattering", but also omitted the promise of restoration found in Deuteronomy 30.3. In fact, there is little talk of repentance and reconciliation to be found anywhere in Josephus.[24] This is because Josephus' theology is not based upon covenant, but upon obedience to God in response to God's provision. He is not interested in a return to the land but in maintaining obedience to God's commands even if that takes place in a foreign land.

5.1.3 The Insider/Outsider Ideology in Josephus

The replacement of covenant fidelity with the notion that God's law held universal jurisdiction over all humanity is similar to the *T. 12 Patr.*[25] The implication of Josephus's adoption of this notion of universal law is that it diminished the insider/outsider ideology of Jewish enslavement to God. If, according to Josephus, all humanity must be obedient to God and will receive benefaction from God in response to loyal obedience, then it also follows that all humanity can become the slaves of God. No longer could slavery to God be a distinctive mark of identity for the Jews. Without the requirement of loyal obedience to a set of covenant stipulations unique to Jews as a national and religious group, slavery to God would

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[22] Feldman 1997, 153.
[23] Rajak 1983, 94-95.
[24] Rajak 1983, 98.

cease to be an exclusive way for Jews to distinguish themselves from other nations and religions.[26] Slavery to God would become a distinctive mark of identity for any people that were obedient and loyal to God and not just Jews.[27]

5.2 Responses to Slavery in the Jewish War

The *Jewish War* was written by Josephus to serve as an official account as well as propaganda. The Greek title of the work "Concerning the Jewish War" is similar to other histories about conquests by Roman Emperors (cf. "Concerning the Gallic War") and indicates that it was written from a Roman point of view.[28] Josephus claims to have written an earlier version in Aramaic to be read by the Barbarians of the interior (Babylonia and Parthia).[29] If this claim is accepted, then it may indicate that *Jewish War* was written as a warning to those in the East not to make the same mistake as the Jews by revolting against Rome.[30]

While these observations reveal the purpose of the work by Josephus's sponsors, the Flavian household, it does not explain how Josephus presented his interpretation of the war to Jewish readers. Tessa Rajak suggests that the cataclysmic events surrounding the first Jewish war needed to be interpreted within some type of religious framework.[31] Josephus's work would have been unhelpful to a Jew had he formulated it as a tool of Roman propaganda but failed to integrate the events into a theological explanation. Rajak maintains:

> "Josephus' theory is Hellenized in its presentation, but is essentially Jewish, concerned with God's purpose for the world and his arrangements for the destiny of nations, and centered on a scheme of sin and punishment . . . what is striking and even bold in Josephus is the very fact that he had introduced a distinctive Jewish interpretation into a political history, which is fully Greek in form, juxtaposing the two approaches."[32]

Even though he was both a beneficiary and an instrument of the Roman Emperor, Josephus remained a Jew concerned about the history of his people and certainly contemplated the causes of the war soon after its end. It is in this context that

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[25] See the examination of the *T. 12 Patr.* in § 4.2.2.
[26] While the results of adopting 'universal law' are only implications in Josephus they are worked out in concrete form in the works of Philo examined in the next chapter.
[27] This is similar to *Par. Jer.* in the previous chapter where the insider/outsider ideology of enslavement to God demarcated Jeremiah and Baruch from the rest of the people who had not remained obedient to God (§ 4.1.2).
[28] Feldman 1992, 3:983; Thackeray 1967, 30.
[29] *War*, 1.3.
[30] Feldman 1992, 3:983; Thackeray 1967, 27.
[31] Rajak 1983, 78.
[32] Rajak 1983, 78-79.

Josephus's response to slavery in the *Jewish War* should be examined, not merely on the basis of the socio-economic impact that slavery had on Judaism, but in terms of how the ramifications of slavery were explained in the scheme of Jewish self-understanding.

In Josephus there are two responses to slavery that are related to the Jewish self-understanding as slaves of God. There is, on the one hand, the response of Zealotism whose adherents attempted to avoid enslavement under Rome and found no theological justification for allowing themselves to become enslaved. Josephus himself, on the other hand, accepted the possibility of Jewish enslavement as part of God's purpose in the world.

5.2.1 The Response of Zealotism to Slavery

Zealotism was the result of intense feelings of nationalism rooted in Jewish piety and theological motivation.[33] W.R. Farmer notes that Jewish nationalism of this period was not secular or even ethnocentric, but theocentric or, even more specifically, Torahcentric.[34] Zeal for the Torah developed from a fundamental desire to be obedient to God and the laws given to Israel. The law was the result of God's choosing of a people, Israel, and demanded that no other gods be worshipped.[35] Coupled with this was a long history of Jewish commitment to resistance of foreign domination that had become a religious article of faith.[36] David Rhoads similarly notes:

> " . . . religion was not a discrete factor but was deeply embedded in political and economic realties. All understood their political situation and articulated their social hopes in religious terms. Every social, economic, political and cultural issue was at the same time a thoroughly religious issue."[37]

Zealotism can be classified, then, as an attempt by some adherents of Judaism to live their life in singular obedience and service to God.

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[33] The term 'Zealotism' is used here with an awareness of the scholarly debate surrounding the origins and possible identification of such a group existing during the first century C.E. The term 'Zealot' is not used here as a way to describe several heterogeneous movements with a technical term. The term is intended to emphasize a predominant characteristic of religious motivation that took precedence over social and political motivations. Thus those who were adherents of the 'fourth philosophy' could be described as Zealots based on their religious motivations, but still not be identified as a party known as the 'Zealots'. For opposing view points about the composition and origin of the Zealot movement see: Hengel, 1989 and Horsley and Hanson 1985.
[34] Farmer, 1973, 48.
[35] Ibid., 49.
[36] Feldman 1984, 661.
[37] Rhoads 1992, 6:1052.

A. *'The Fourth Philosophy'*

In *War* 2.117-119, Josephus relates how a Galilean named Judas incited the people to revolt calling them cowards for consenting to pay taxes to Rome and tolerating mortal masters over them when they in fact had God as their master.[38] *Antiquities* provides a more detailed explanation of the movement and designates Judas as the founder of a 'fourth philosophy' that became part of a long tradition of organized resistance to foreign rulers.[39] According to Josephus, adherents to this 'philosophy' had an unconquerable passion for freedom and believed that God should be their only leader and master (*Ant.* 18.23).[40] In *Antiquities* 18.1-5, when Quirinius, the Roman governor of Syria, arrived in Judea to liquidate the estate of Archelaus and register the property of the inhabitants, Judas considered this annexation of Judea as tantamount to slavery. He appealed to the Jews to fight for their independence and encouraged them that God would be their helper until they had succeeded in their enterprise.

B. *The Sole Rule of God*

The insistence upon the sole rule of God by Judas and his followers represented a rejection of foreign sovereigns based on the belief that Jewish society was supposed to live under the rule of God.[41] For Judas and his followers, recognition of a Roman Emperor was the same as serving an idol.[42] The Jews were living in a time when the Roman Emperor was becoming increasingly deified and the Imperial cult progressively more offensive to the core values of Judaism.[43] By passively accepting the authority of the Emperor, Jews would have allowed an earthly master to usurp the authority of God and would thus be actively participating in an act of idolatry. This digression, Judas believed, began with the paying of taxes to a foreign occupying force, which he equated with slavery.[44] Jews who consented to paying taxes to Rome were indicating that they were not free, but subject to Rome.

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[38] Horsley and Hanson question as to whether Judas actually incited an armed rebellion rather than a popular movement of resistance (1985, 196-97). Rhoads, on the other hand, is more inclined to accept the idea of Judas as the leader of an armed struggle (1992, 6:1045).
[39] Horsley and Hanson 1985, 194.
[40] Martin Hengel has analyzed Josephus's description of the fourth philosophy and suggested four central aspects: 1) only God may be called Lord or ruler; 2) the Zealots had an invincible love of freedom; 3) to succeed the people must cooperate with God, which is a necessary precondition for God's intervention; and 4) the bitter rejection of the census/annexation leads to the conclusion that it must have offended the religious sensibilities of pious Jews (1989, 81).
[41] Horsley and Hanson, 1985, 193.
[42] Hengel 1989, 98.
[43] Ibid., 104.

Those who aligned themselves with Rome became the slaves of the Emperor and ceased to live under the rule of God and were, therefore, no longer free to be God's slaves.[45]

Hengel suggests that the concept of freedom among the 'Zealots' involved more than merely political connotations. Josephus certainly presents the Jewish longing for freedom in a way that would have been appropriate of an Hellenistic account of the Jewish war. But Hengel notes that because Josephus in many places connects freedom with the belief in the sole rule of God, it is an eschatological freedom that actually lies beneath the surface of the political freedom being presented.[46] It was the hope of many Jews that once they had eradicated the threat of foreign oppression, they would be able to enjoy the freedom of living under the kingly rule of God.[47]

C. *Participatory Resistance to Slavery*

An important aspect of Judas's 'philosophy' was a belief in synergism with God.[48] Jews were encouraged to resist actively foreign domination since they believed that God would not act without them. Judas assumed that once a revolt had begun against Rome, God would come to their assistance. Followers of the 'fourth philosophy' were not content to wait passively for the redemption of Israel, but believed in active co-operation with God to bring about the eschatological kingdom. God would only intervene when they ceased waiting and began to act.

The belief in synergism also translated into the determination that death was preferred over surrender to a foreign occupying power.[49] Josephus provides several examples depicting Jews who would rather commit suicide than succumb to slavery (*Ant.* 14.429; *War* 1.311; 4.394). This ideology was prevalent enough that Josephus could record how one woman was willing to consume her own child rather than

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[44] Horsley and Hanson 1985,192.
[45] While terminology of slavery is not present in the passages concerning Judas, it is generally agreed that the phrase φόρον τε Ρωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας (*War* 2.18) indicates that Judas was reacting against an attempt by an earthly authority to usurp the position of God. This is seen even more clearly later in *War* 7.323 where the grandson of Judas encourages others to choose slavery to God over slavery to Rome. See Horsley and Hanson 1985, 193.
[46] Hengel 1989, 115.
[47] This is evidenced by the inscriptions on coins from the revolt period that read "Jerusalem the Holy" and "the Redemption of Zion" revealing the hope for a freedom that is both political and eschatological (Stoops 2000, 224).
[48] Horsley and Hanson 1985, 193.
[49] Hengel 1989, 257.

submit it to the bitterness of slavery under Rome (War 6.205).[50] In the closing moments of the Masada drama, Eleazar, grandson of Judas, declares to his compatriots that it is better to embrace death by their own hands rather than to embrace slavery at the hands of Rome.[51] The pretext of his declaration is the fourth philosophy's belief in the sole rule of God and the obligation of Jews as God's slaves:

> Long since, my brave men, we determined to serve (δουλεύειν) neither the Romans or any other save God, for He alone is man's true and righteous Lord; and now the time is come that bids us verify that resolution by our actions (*War* 7.323).

The Jews of Masada realized that they had failed, but refused to relinquish their position as God's slaves and chose to commit suicide rather than submit to slavery under a foreign conqueror and its deified emperor. God was their master and they would rather die while they could still make that claim and before the entrance of the Romans could prevent it.

D. *The Insider/Outsider Ideology in Zealtoism*

The determination of Zealotism to remain the loyal slaves of God translated into a religious fanaticism that resisted categorically anyone or anything that prevented them from being obedient to God. Similar to the book of Judith, slavery under a foreign oppressor was not to be embraced but rejected and resisted with the ultimate hope that God would intervene.[52] By responding to slavery in this way, Zealotism reinforced the insider/outsider ideology of enslavement to God. Because 'Zealots' regarded themselves as insiders they believed that they were obligated to resist attempts by outsiders to introduce an alternative form of enslavement (i.e. to Rome). Jews were under the sole rule of God and would rather die than serve another master.

5.2.2 Josephus's Response to Slavery

In order to understand Josephus's response to slavery and its relation to the broader Jewish self-understanding, it is necessary to determine how he could communicate a theological interpretation of the war to Jews while benefiting as a

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[50] Josephus portrays the woman as being presented with the choices of starvation, slavery, or the abuses of the Zealots in Jerusalem. It is impossible to say what if anything actually happened, but it is significant that the woman is said to consider the child's death at the hand of its own mother to be better than enslavement by Rome.

[51] Although Horsley and Hanson disagree with Hengel's contention that the occupiers of Masada were 'Zealots' in the proper sense, they do agree that it was the influence of the fourth philosophy that caused them to act out the final events of the war (1985, 212-14).

[52] See §4.2.1.

patron of their enemies whom he had assisted during the revolt. Demonstrating how Josephus understood himself and his role in the war is the key to this paradox.

A. *Josephus as the Slave of God*

Josephus's self-understanding is revealed by the description of his capture at Jotapata. With the city having fallen to the Romans, Josephus and his compatriots retreated to hide in a cave (*War* 3.340-408). When the cave was discovered, and Josephus was offered clemency on condition of surrender, Josephus claims that through a series of dreams the impending defeat of the Jews and the destiny of Rome as sovereign had already been revealed to him. In response to this reminder and to his own knowledge of the prophecies of the scriptures, he claims to have offered up a prayer which recognized that it was God who had created the Jewish nation and had subsequently decided to destroy it in favor of the Romans. Convinced of the futility of a struggle against the will of God, Josephus decided to surrender to the Romans, not as a traitor but as God's slave (*War* 3.354 δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς ἄπειμι διάκονος). Josephus thus understood himself not as one who had abandoned the Jewish nation in order to save his own life, but as an obedient slave of God who consented to live only so that he could announce the things that God said would happen.[53]

B. *The Slave of God Delivering a Message*

It has often been noted that Josephus presents himself as acting in the mode of the prophets, Jeremiah in particular.[54] While this observation appears to be an accurate description of his actions, it is significant that at no time does Josephus attach the epithet of 'prophet' to himself but restricts it to the canonical prophets.[55] Joseph Blenkinsopp has demonstrated that Josephus's understanding of his "prophetic gift rested on a combination of divine inspiration and exegetical skills" (*War* 3.351-4). Prophecy, for Josephus,

> " . . . has the primary connotation of the inspired interpretation of biblical texts with reference to present and future fulfillment . . . the real meaning of texts in both the Tôrah and Nebî'îm is revealed to the inspired exegete as a result of direct divine illumination and inspiration. Even in his prediction of the political ascendancy of Vespasian – the climax of his prophetic career – it is clear that he spoke as, in his own view, minister (*servant*) of the voice of God and inspired exegete of biblical prophecy."[56]

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[53] Sterling 1992, 237.
[54] Blenkinsopp 1974, 239; Rajak 1983, 95; Sterling 1992, 237.
[55] Blenkinsopp 1974, 240.
[56] Ibid., 247.

Not even in the mouth of Vespasian does Josephus attempt to allow himself the title of prophet, but instead uses the terminology of his own self-understanding as the slave of God delivering a message (*War* 4.626 - διάκονον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς). It would be inaccurate, then, to extend to Josephus a title and position that not even he considered relevant to his mission. Josephus is not reticent to claim that he possesses the gift of prophecy, but in his mind that does not make him a prophet.[57] Josephus is simply the inspired slave of God.

It is noteworthy, however, that Josephus considered his position as God's slave to be contrary to his status as a captive of Rome. This is communicated to the reader through a statement attributed to Vespasian:

> Αἰσχρὸν οὖν, τὸν προσθεσπίσαντά μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διάκονον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι αἰχμαλώτου τάξιν ἢ δεσμώτου τύχην ὑπόμενειν (*War* 4.626).

By inserting this statement into Vespasian's mouth, Josephus demonstrates that when he acts as an obedient slave of God, his captors will be forced to recognize his true status and want to adjust his physical status to match.[58] For Josephus, physical enslavement under Rome was merely a temporary disguising of his true status as a slave of God.

It is curious that Josephus chooses to use διάκανος to describe himself here rather than δοῦλος. The διάκανος word group only appears five times in *War*: (1) in 3.354 - Josephus uses it to identify himself to God; (2) in 4.626 - Vespasian uses it to affirm Josephus' own self-understanding; (3) in 4.388 – Josephus describes the Zealots as an instrument of destruction; and (4) in 3.70 and 4.252 - it describes individuals who provide services to those who have authority over them, either Roman or Jew. As noted in Chapter 2, when used in the context of rendering obedience it seems that Josephus used the term as a synonym for slavery.[59] In the context of his own self-identification, there are two possible reasons for his usage of the term. He may have chosen the term in attempt to distinguish for his audience his position as a 'slave of God' from those who were 'slaves of Rome.' Even more plausible, though, is Josephus's reticence to position himself consciously within the

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[57] Blenkinsopp notes that this was also the case with the Dead Sea sect who were willing to attribute to themselves and their leader the gift of prophecy, but never retain the title of prophet (1974, 247). See also *1QpHab* cols 2 and 7.
[58] Titus also determined that it was unjust to keep Josephus chained like a slave (*War* 6.27-29).
[59] See §2.5.

prophetic line. In an attempt to distance himself further from the famous prophets, he may have chosen διάκονος to describe himself instead of the more common designations of δοῦλος or παῖς given to the prophets in the LXX. Although the terminology is somewhat unconventional, the expression of obedience to God is retained in the same way as it was for the prophets.

C. *The Acceptance of Slavery in Obedience to God*

Josephus shared with the 'Zealots' a similar ideology of obedient slavery to God. The difference between Josephus and the 'Zealots,' however, consisted in how to interpret and reconcile their position as God's slaves in light of the threat of enslavement by Rome. The 'Zealots' resolved to resist the Romans in order to preserve their position as God's obedient slaves. Josephus believed, however, that by surrendering to the Romans he and those who joined him would be fulfilling their duty as God's slaves by refusing to rebel against those whom God had certainly established as the new sovereigns of the world. Josephus saw no contradiction in being a slave of God while also serving Rome. It was possible to be God's obedient slave even when enslaved to the Roman emperor.

5.2.3 Responses to Slavery in the Speeches of Josephus

Another way to determine Josephus' response to slavery is to analyze the speeches he placed in the mouths of his characters. It was a recognized convention among ancient historians to insert speeches in the narrative in order to provide the author an opportunity for personal commentary. Writers including Thucydides (1.22), with whom Josephus was certainly familiar, used speeches in their works in an attempt to relate not the actual words, but the essence of what was said.[60] Sometimes these speeches had little if any basis in historical events but were inserted to provide an analysis of political events and to generalize about human affairs. Josephus is no different in this principle. Many of Josephus's speeches, attributed either to himself or others, expose his own attitudes to the readers. They are packed with evidence of his emotions, prejudices and represent a single cluster of expressions from a single essential position.[61] The speeches provide so much of Josephus's own opinions that if one wanted to know what he thought on a particular topic one could almost ask Josephus himself.

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[60] Byrskog 2000, 179-184; Thackeray 1967, 41.
[61] Rajak 1983, 80.

Helgo Lindner has analyzed three of the largest speeches in *Jewish War* to discover if Josephus's work was merely a piece of propaganda or an attempt to provide Jewish interpretation of the war. He concluded that: "*Josephus ist Historiker im Sinne der hellenistischen Schulgrundsätze, aber er ist auch jüdisch-heilsgeschichtlicher Interpret.*"[62] Lindner demonstrated that Josephus's use of the philosophic term τύχη "fate" was in many ways a Hellenization of *jüdische Heilsgeschichte.*[63] Josephus equated fate with the plan of God for human history, which included the destiny of the Roman Empire as the new sovereigns of the world. Lindner says:

> *Bei Josephus steht dieses hellenistische Schicksalsmotiv aber in der Unterordnung unter das Handeln des Gottes der Bibel. Dieser läßt die Weltherrschaft (ἀρχή) von einem Volk zum anderen übergehen und steht „jetzt" – nicht für alle Zeiten! – „auf seiten Italiens" (5.367). Das im Schicksalbegriff liegende Determinationsmotiv bleibt also verbunden mit dem biblischen Gottesdenken, speziell mit der apokalyptischen Anschauung vom Plan Gottes, der sich in der Abfolge der Weltreiche manifestiert. Es behält aber eine gewisse Selbständigkeit neben der Gerichtsaussage.*[64]

Lindner suggests that by examining the more important speeches in light of the understanding of τύχη as *jüdisch-Heilsgeschichte*, it would be possible to determine how Josephus expressed his own understanding of the events surrounding the war.

The three speeches in *Jewish War* that Lindner analyzes are those of Agrippa (2.345-401), Josephus (5.362-419), and Eleazar (7.323-336; 341-388). Each of the speeches contains three recurrent themes: (1) God was on the side of the Romans, (2) the Jews were under judgement by God for their disobedience to God's commands, and (3) resisting Rome would be a futile and persistent act of disobedience towards God. In each of the speeches, Lindner identifies what he argues was the main part of the speech. In Agrippa's speech, the main part consists of the supposed conviction that the time to fight slavery had passed and the Jews were now under obligation to obey Rome (*War* 2.355-61).[65] In Josephus's speech it is a declaration that because the Jews have forsaken God's commands, God has forsaken them and stands on the side

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[62] Lindner 1972, 134. Lindner's critics have accused him of putting too much emphasis on questions surrounding *Quellenforschung*. While the question of Josephus' sources is difficult to answer, it does not negate Lindner's ability to present the central points of Josephus' Jewish interpretation of the war. See reviews by Rajak 1974, 32; and Shutt 1973, 196-98.
[63] Lindner 1972, 44, 89-94, 143.
[64] Ibid., 144.
[65] Ibid., 22.

of Rome (*War* 5.400-12).[66] In the speech of Eleazar, it is the claim that the end of the war does not signify the defeat of Zealot opposition to Rome, but is rather the execution of judgement by God upon all Jewish people (*War* 7.327-36).[67]

Both Agrippa and Josephus's speeches share the idea that τύχη, as determined by God, destined the Romans to be sovereigns of the world. Resistance was not only futile, but an act of rebellion against God's plan (*War* 2.361; 5.367).[68] Even in the Eleazar speech, where the terminology of τύχη does not occur, it is clear to readers that all that has transpired in the war is considered the result of the ultimate intention of God for the world and the Jewish people (*War* 7.328-33, 358-60). These speeches reveal that Josephus interpreted the events of the war as being part of God's larger plan for both *jüdische Heilsgeschichte* and the world. Josephus believed that the Jewish nation had failed to be obedient to the commands of God and was therefore under judgment that involved an obligation to be obedient to Rome.

Following the analysis of Lindner, it is also possible to examine how these speeches use slavery language as a way to determine Josephus's opinion concerning Jewish enslavement under Rome. In addition to the above three speeches, another is attributed to Josephus as he negotiated for his life at Jotapata (War 3.355-386). Each of these four speeches demonstrates that Josephus, while not in favor of enslavement, was willing to accept the consequence of Jewish disobedience and submit to that which God had ordained. The speeches are valuable because, in addition to revealing the opinions of Josephus they also provide some insight into how he interpreted the 'Zealot' point of view.

A. *The Speech Attributed to Agrippa*

In Agrippa's speech, the major theme created by the language of slavery is that the whole world is enslaved to Rome.[69] In an attempt to forestall war, Agrippa recites a long list of peoples who have submitted to the Romans as an example of how foolish it is to oppose the power of Rome. Agrippa admonishes the people to accept that God has made the Romans sovereigns of the world and for the Jews to reaffirm their obedience to Rome by paying the overdue tribute to Caesar (*War* 2.390, 403).[70]

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[66] Ibid., 29.
[67] Ibid., 37.
[68] Ibid., 42-43.
[69] *War* 2.358, 361, 365, 373, 375, 377, 378, and 379.
[70] The tribute is a symbol of Roman dominance and Judean servitude to Rome, which is the very thing that Judas reacted against in his formation of the 'Fourth Philosophy.'

Contained in the mouth of Agrippa is presumably the attitude of Josephus concerning slavery. At the beginning of the speech, Agrippa is made to acknowledge that slavery is intolerable and that enslavement to anyone is disgraceful regardless of how considerate the master may be (*War* 2.349 -αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως τὸ δουλεύειν). Several lines later it is agreed that slavery is a painful experience and should be avoided at all costs (*War* 2.355 -ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπή). However, Agrippa (or rather Josephus) insists that once slavery has been accepted, those who attempt to reject it are not lovers of freedom but hold authority in contempt as insubordinate rebels (*War* 2.356 - αὐθάδης δοῦλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελεύθερος). Because fate (τύχη) has cast God on the side of the Romans, to resist slavery now is not a sign of desiring freedom, but is rebellion against the ordering of God. Furthermore, the very goal of their rebellion, the freedom to obey and serve God, would be hampered by their attempts in war. The reader is reminded how the Jews who resisted Pompey were eventually conquered because of their refusal to fight on the Sabbath.[71] The speech suggests that in order to be victorious the Jews would have to neglect their obligations to God. By deliberately neglecting these obligations, they would be acting in contradiction to the war's objective (*War* 2.390-94). Consequently, while slavery is disgraceful and even painful, once instituted it is better to submit to the situation and act in continued obedience to God rather than show contempt for the authority of both the slave master and God.

B. *Two Speeches Attributed to Josephus*

The first major speech that Josephus attributes to himself is set in the cave of Jotapata where he was captured. After deciding to surrender himself to the Romans, Josephus is forced to not only protect himself from his compatriots' swords, but to debate with them about their perceptions of slavery. Upon discovering his intentions, they declare that his decision is not only an affront to the law but a grievance against God. How, they asked, could Josephus possibly see any light in allowing himself to be enslaved by the Romans (*War* 3.357 - φῶς ὑπομένεις ὁρᾶν δοῦλος)? Josephus acknowledges that his friends do not fear death, but slavery (*War* 3.367 - οὐχὶ θάνατον . . . ἀλλὰ δουλείαν). He reminds them, though, that they, like slaves, have God as their master and would be acting impiously by fleeing God through the act of suicide (*War* 3.73). It is only those who remain as obedient slaves with spotless

[71] See *War* 1.150 where Josephus recounts how many of those in the Temple refused to resist the

souls who will find any reward in the eschatological world, whereas those who commit suicide receive no such reward.[72] By relating this speech to the reader, actual or not, Josephus was able to contrast his own views concerning slavery with those of the 'Zealots.' He would rather surrender to slavery and perhaps be murdered, than show contempt for God by placing a misguided love of freedom over obedience to God's commands. Slavery is not a favored option, but slavery to God and the obligation of obedience to God's commands supercedes any efforts to remain free.

The second major speech of Josephus takes place outside of besieged Jerusalem as he acts as a Roman emissary offering peace. The opening of this speech affirms that the statements purportedly spoken by Agrippa were actually the sentiments of Josephus. Present is the same assumption that it is natural to fight enslavement, but once it has occurred, it should not be resisted. Those who attempt to resist slavery after the fact do not love freedom but seek after death (*War* 5.364 ff. - ἀποσείεσθαι τὸν ζυγὸν δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι). God is on the side of the Romans and resistance is futile. The reason God has forsaken the Jews, according to Josephus, is that they have acted contrary to his commands. He declares that the source of Jewish enslavement by Rome can be traced to the period of Pompey when party strife and offences against both the Temple and the law, though not as grievous as those committed later, led the impious among them to place themselves willingly into servitude to Rome. Because of their disobedience God considered them unworthy of freedom and subjected them to slavery under the Romans (*War* 5.395-95 - πόθεν δ' ἠρξάμεθα δουλίεας; . . . Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ αξίους ἐλευθερίας). Enslavement, once implemented, should not be resisted, but embraced, because the source of slavery is ultimately God who has set the destiny of all nations.[73]

A large portion of Josephus's Jerusalem speech is a recounting of Israelite history used in support of his claim that slavery should not be resisted. In *War* 5.377, he proclaims that God has never failed to avenge the Jews when foreigners oppressed them. He then conducts a review of five major events in the history of Israel in order

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Romans and chose to be killed while in the act of serving God on the Sabbath.

[72] Ultimately, Josephus records that he was unsuccessful and that his compatriots believed that, even when trapped in a cave, they enjoyed more freedom than they would enslaved to Rome; they would rather die free (*War* 3.367-68).

[73] Josephus also asserts this idea in *Antiquities* by placing it in the mouth of King David. In a revision of David's coronation speech for Solomon in 1 Chronicles 28.1, Josephus inserts the statement: *It is not a terrible thing to serve a foreign master if God so wills* (*Ant.* 7.373).

to show that when threatened with slavery or foreign oppression, the correct response is not to fight the oppressor, but to remain obedient to God and commit the situation to him. When Pharaoh took Sarah from Abraham, the Patriarch did not resort to battle, although he was certainly equipped for the event, but instead he lifted his hands to God in prayer. God not only returned Abraham's wife to him, but also caused the Egyptians to bestow large amounts of gold and silver upon him (*War* 3.379-81). When the children of Israel became oppressed and enslaved in Egypt, they committed themselves to God who forced the Egyptians to free them and to serve as Israel's escort out of the land (*War* 3.382-83).[74] The Philistines unwisely captured the Ark of God from Israel. The Israelites did not engage their enemy in battle, but committed their situation to God who not only returned the Ark from captivity, but also sent it back from the Philistines with a parade of celebration (*War* 3.384-88). Sennacherib besieged the city of Jerusalem, but a large part of his army was killed by God and forced to flee as if the armies of Israel were pursuing them (*War* 3.387-88).[75] Even after the Jews had been enslaved in Babylon for seventy years, they never aspired to gain liberty, but waited for God. God then caused Cyrus to release and return them to re-establish the temple of God (*War* 3.39-90). Josephus finishes this recital of history with a claim that at no time were the Jewish forefathers successful against their oppressors by taking up arms against them. It was only when they obeyed God and committed their way to him that victory was brought about (*War* 5.390). Josephus then continues with another, but much shorter, historical account of Zedekiah, the Maccabees, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and Antigonus, all who failed in their attempt to resist the enemy through war. Inevitably, dependence on armed resistance rather than God caused the city to be captured and resulted in the Temple being either plundered or destroyed (*War* 5.391-398).

Josephus's interpretation of Jewish history has a paradigmatic quality to its presentation. In each of the above, the subject of the event was either threatened by or had already succumbed to captivity and enslavement under a foreign oppressor.

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[74] See similar statements concerning the Egyptians speeding the Israelites on their way in Wisdom 19.2.

[75] Farmer suggests that the figure of Sennacherib is significant for the Zealot belief that God was on their side. He notes that the OT incident of Sennacherib's defeat was believed to be proof that God would protect the temple. This belief was cited in 2 Maccabees 15.16-27 in support of taking up arms against an enemy. Farmer concludes that Josephus's appeal to the Sennacherib situation both in 5.387-88 and again in 5.403-405 was an attempt to dissuade the Zealots from believing that God will protect them because God wants to protect the Temple (1973, 99-105).

Rather than resist oppression and enslavement, they chose to be obedient and commit the circumstances to God. When they responded in this way not only were they released from the situation, they were also rewarded either with money, the services of their enemy, a celebration, or the ability to relish in a victory for which they did not battle. The paradigmatic quality, reflected in Josephus's opinion, is reminiscent of the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* found in other Jewish literature of the period.[76] The Jews faced a humiliating situation that threatened them with slavery to foreigners. Rather than resist they chose to remain obedient to God in that situation. In response God not only released them from the situation but also exalted them over their enemies. Slavery was not to be resisted through human effort but should be committed to God. But even if slavery should occur, they were still not to resist but remain obedient and wait until God exalted them over their oppressors.

C. *The Speech Attributed to Eleazar*

The final speech of the Jewish War is attributed to Eleazar, leader at Masada. Because Josephus admits that he has received second-hand information about the events that took place inside Masada, the speech is almost certainly a complete fabrication and does not reflect an actual event but Josephus's own perception of how the 'Zealots' viewed resistance to slavery. In many ways Eleazar's speech is designed as a direct parallel to Josephus's Jotapata speech revealing similar Zealot sentiments to those who challenged him in the cave, but from different characters.[77]

> In his opening statement Eleazar says:
>
> *Long since, my brave men, we determined to serve (*δουλεύειν*) neither the Romans or any other save God, for He alone is man's true and righteous Lord . . . we who in the past refused to submit even to a slavery (*δουλείαν*) involving no peril, let us not now, along with slavery (*δουλείας*), deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands* (*War* 7.323-24).

This statement reflects the ideology of the sole rule of God and the determination not to surrender to enslavement. In the past the 'Zealots' determined that they would not succumb to slavery under Rome even if it came with guarantees of safety.[78] Now,

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[76] See the previous chapter 'Responses to Slavery in Early Jewish Literature' for a discussion of Judith and *T. Levi* and *T. Jos* (§ 4.2.1; 4.2.2).
[77] Rajak 1983, 89.
[78] This attitude is reflected in *Antiquities* where Josephus records how Samaritans attacked Galilean pilgrims as they passed through Samaria on their way to Jerusalem. When the Roman governor, Cumanus, fails to avenge the Jews, the Galileans declare that: "Slavery was in itself bitter, but when it involved insolent treatment, it was quite intolerable" (Ant. 20.120). The Galileans' complaint is that

however, there is a change in the type of slavery being offered by Rome. The 'Zealot' refusal to pay taxes and submit to Roman sovereignty was a rejection of an enslavement, which held no penalties and came with promises of protection if Rome was obeyed. Resistance of this type of slavery not only led to the Jewish revolt but ensured that the slavery the Romans anticipated enforcing now was not one that pledged safety, but instead promised punishment. Rather than submit themselves and their families to this form of slavery, Eleazar suggests that they dispatch their wives and children in order to keep those who have not known any form of slavery from experiencing this cruelest form (*War* 7.334). While they are still free of the Romans and the situation lies yet in their power, they should keep their initial resolve, which is: *we prefer death to slavery* (*War* 7.336 - θάνατον ἑλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας)!

When his first attempt fails to convince his compatriots, Eleazar launches into a second speech to persuade them to make a final resistance to enslavement. He assures them that the fall of Masada and their suicide will not be a victory that the Romans can claim because it is God who caused this to happen (*War* 7.359 ff.). God decided to bring judgment upon the Jewish people for their disobedience. It is honorable, then, to die while free rather than at the hands of Rome and give them a chance to claim victory (*War* 7.385). Slavery, Eleazar claims, is not a necessary evil forced upon humanity by nature. It is the result of cowardice. Refusal to surrender to the Romans represents a courageous stand by the 'Zealots' for their religious beliefs accompanied by their refusal to serve Rome (*War* 7.382 ff.). He concludes by saying that the law enjoins them to do this, and that it is the final will of God for them to rob the Romans of any opportunity of claiming victory (*War* 7.386).[79]

According to Eleazar's speech, enslavement is to be avoided at all costs and suicide can be interpreted as a way to fulfill the obligation of obedient service to God. Even while besieged and waiting for the Romans to enter Masada, the Zealots remain free and have an opportunity to die free in accordance with their desire to serve God

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under Roman sovereignty, they should be afforded certain rights and protections as remuneration for their loyalty to Rome. When this fails to happen, slavery becomes pointless.

[79] This is a rhetorical statement, as the law contains no such injunction. It may be that the appeal to the law is an attempt to indicate that surrender to Roman enslavement is equated with breaking the law by willingly submitting to and serving another authority other than God. Josephus's compatriots in the Jotapata well make a similar appeal to the law. For Josephus to surrender would be an affront to the law and a grievance to God (3.357). It is possible, however, that the appeal to the law is an indirect accusation of idolatry against those who willingly choose to serve Rome.

alone. Death by their own hand is preferable to enslavement and death inflicted by a foreign oppressor.

5.3 Conclusion

The writings of Josephus make a significant contribution to the dialogue within early Judaism concerning what it meant to be a slave of God. His presentation of the first Jewish war and its causes reinforces the conclusion of chapter two that the Jewish concept of slavery to God contained both religious and nationalistic connotations. Zealotism was at its core a religious movement that inspired nationalistic feelings resulting in a resistance with the ultimate aim of establishing the sole rule of God over Jews in Palestine. Because slavery was perceived to be contrary to the Jewish status as slaves to God and an affront to the Jewish law, Zealots were prepared to resist enslavement by a foreign oppressor to the point of death. They reinforced the insider/outsider ideology of enslavement to God by concluding that it was impossible to be the slave of God (the insiders) while enslaved to someone else (the outsiders).

Josephus also understood himself as a slave of God but saw no contradiction in submitting to the power of Rome. He concluded that it was possible to serve God while enslaved to a foreign power. Similar to 1 Baruch, he believed that when enslavement was justified, resistance to the inevitable was going to compound their disobedience to God. He opposed the 'Zealot' philosophy that preferred death to enslavement. Adhering to a pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation*, Josephus believed that it was better to submit to slavery and commit the situation to God. To resist slavery was an act of compounded disobedience of God and represented a missed opportunity for God to act on the behalf of the Jews. Because he determined that the Jews of his day were under judgment by God, Josephus contended that submitting to slavery was not an act against the belief of the sole rule of God but was actually the first step in renewed obedience to God. Josephus agreed with Zealotism that slavery in the first instance should be resisted, but once it is clear that it has been instituted by God, it should be embraced and become the basis for future obedience to God.

A unique aspect of Josephus's contribution to the Jewish discussion in antiquity is his reluctance to present the special relationship that Jews experience with God as part of a covenant scheme. Instead of presenting the relationship as one based

on covenantal fidelity, he appeals to his belief that all humanity is obligated to obey God and that God's law applies to everyone, not just Jews. In this way Josephus diminished the insider/outsider ideology of enslavement to God and creates a conceptual scope in which all humanity may become obedient slaves of God. History is portrayed as God working in the world for all humanity with the Jews as a special but not unique people. Anyone obedient to God is God's slave.

Chapter 6

Responses to Slavery in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria

Discussions about slavery in Josephus focused on how Jews attempted to reconcile their claim to be God's slaves while confronting a threat of slavery from a foreign oppressor. Providing yet another voice in the discussion about slavery is Philo of Alexandria who was qualified by virtue of his role as a Jewish philosopher living in the Diaspora. Analysis of Philo's contribution will demonstrate how he and other Jewish denizens of Alexandria were able to reconcile their willingness to live under foreign rulers and maintain their historical claim to be the slaves of God.[1]

6.1 Philo as a Jewish Philosopher in a Diaspora community

Preceding chapters have demonstrated that the historical context of an author often influenced the response to slavery. In the wider corpus of early Jewish literature this context was generally one of foreign oppression and enslavement. In Josephus it was more narrowly focused on the specific period leading up to and including the first Jewish revolt. Participation in the Diaspora community of Alexandria seems to have shaped Philo's views on slavery.

6.1.1 Diaspora in Alexandria

Beginning with Alexander the Great, the inhabitants of Egypt and Syro-Palestine were subjected to successive regimes of foreign oppressors. Following the conquest of Palestine in 320 B.C.E. by Ptolemy I Soter, some Jews were taken to Egypt as prisoners/slaves while others probably settled in Egypt voluntarily.[2] During the Ptolemaic rule of Egypt, Jews enjoyed a number of privileges as a religious group, most importantly the right of maintaining judicial and communal practices based on their ancestral customs. This community, known as a *politeuma*,[3] sustained itself

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[1] All quotations of Philo are taken from Colson and Markus et al 1929-62.

[2] Abel has disputed the suggestion that any Jews entered Egypt at this time as slaves. He concluded that apart from the *Letter of Aristeas* there is no conclusive evidence that suggests Jews were enslaved in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period. Instead he proposes that the "only possibility regarding the presence of Jews in early Ptolemaic Egypt is that they came voluntarily as farmers, artisans, merchants and soldiers" (1968, 253-258). Abel is correct that there is a lack of firm evidence, but to suggest that all of the Jews in Egypt came voluntarily is as unlikely an explanation as the suggestion that they all came as slaves. Borgen is probably more correct to suggest that both enslavement and voluntary emigration brought the Jews to Egypt, but without speculating on the possible numbers of each group (1997, 31).

[3] The *Letter of Aristeas* (308-310) uses the term to describe the Jewish community in Egypt.

throughout various political upheavals and pogroms against the Jews.[4] Dedicatory inscriptions from synagogues found in Egypt demonstrate that some Jews were willing to recognize the sovereignty of a foreign king without worshiping that sovereign. A consideration of these dedications in conjunction with references to a *politeuma* reflects a special relationship of mutual recognition between the king and the Jews that created a form of autonomy under Ptolemaic supervision.[5]

With the rise of Rome and possible Jewish assistance in Julius Caesar's conquest of Alexandria, Jews retained their rights to judicial and religious autonomy and became established as Roman *collegia*.[6] Subsequent Roman rulers (Augustus,[7] Tiberius,[8] and Claudius,[9]) with the exception of Gaius Caligula, all reconfirmed these privileges.[10] In short, the Jews in Alexandria lived as a self-governing community but recognized that the authority to live this way was derived from their Greek and Roman sovereigns. They accepted life under a foreign king in exchange for the privilege of carrying out the ancestral customs vital to the religious community.

6.1.2 The Response of Alexandrian Jews to Hellenization

The convergence of Greek culture with that of the conquered nations led to a significant transformation. Many who were conquered by the Greeks allowed the Hellenization process to influence their culture and religion. The response of native Egyptians was the eventual acceptance of Greek religion through the assertion that the different gods of the two cultures were only different in name.[11] This in turn led to a philosophical approach towards religion. Religious myths and legends were no longer interpreted literally, but as moral and practical models that resulted from a refinement of history and science.[12]

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[4] Kasher 1985, 4.
[5] Clarke 1972, 1: 226-227; 282-283; 298-299.
[6] Kasher 1985, 16-17.
[7] Philo claims that Augustus made this reconfirmation in *Flaccus* 50 and *Embassy* 152-158.
[8] Philo suggests that Tiberius was happy to retain the status quo of his predecessors in *Embassy* 140-142. In addition to Gaius Philo also records the problems which occurred under Flaccus and the events surrounding the visit of Agrippa I to the city (Kasher 1985, 20).
[9] Kasher 1985, 18.
[10] Philo describes the disturbance of Jewish autonomy by Gaius in his work *On the Embassy to Gaius*.
[11] An example of this may be found in *Let. Aris.* 16 where Demetrius concludes that the Jews should be released from slavery because they worship the same god as the Greeks, Zeus, but under a different name. While the subject of the discussion is Jews and not native Egyptians, it does support the idea that many at this time accepted a general synthesis of all religions. Barclay has pointed out that Aristeas's strategy is to illustrate Gentile acceptance of Jewish religion and not that Jews accepted the validity of Gentile worship (1996, 143).
[12] Wolfson 1975, 1: 6-7.

In Alexandria the response of the Jewish community was to produce a school of philosophers who deliberately recast Greek philosophy according to a pattern of belief and tradition that was of an entirely different origin.[13] The defining factor of Judaism was the strict practice of monolatry, which distinguished it from other religions and prevented it from completely assimilating to Greek culture.[14] Jews recognized similarities that existed between their religion and others, but rejected these gods and refused to allow the similarities to redefine their religion. The use of Greek terminology by Jewish authors reflected a Hellenization of language, but not of religious belief and practice.[15] Other religions adopted Greek names and syncretism. "For the Jews, however, it was only a convenience of language."[16]

6.1.3 Philo as a Jewish Philosopher

Philo's life may be viewed as a microcosm of the convergence of Hellenistic and Jewish cultures. On the one hand, Philo is comfortable with the terminology and philosophic concepts of his Greek sovereigns and neighbors. His writings show a wide knowledge of Greek education, philosophers, writers, and literary style,[17] all of which is a direct result of his own Hellenistic education.[18] On the other hand, he remained distinctly Jewish and committed to the tenets of Judaism. Philo identified himself as a Jew of Alexandria living according to ancestral customs and laws especially the keeping of the Sabbath.[19] He appears to have been familiar with the oral law[20] and gives evidence of practicing common aspects of *Halakhah* including worship in the Jerusalem Temple,[21] payment of the Temple tax,[22] and an aversion to statues in the Temple and synagogues.[23] The most important marker of Philo's devotion to Judaism, however, was his tenacious adherence to monolatry and the

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[13] Ibid., 4.
[14] Birnbaum 1996, 13, 226-28.
[15] Barclay notes the distinction between *acculturation* and *assimilation*. Acculturation is "the linguistic, educational and ideological aspects of a given cultural matrix." Assimilation "refer(s) to social integration (becoming similar to one's neighbors): it concerns social contacts, social interactions and social practice." While acculturation might lead to assimilation, it need not in every case. Thus, it is possible to be acculturated without being assimilated (1996, 92).
[16] Wolfson 1975, 1:13.
[17] Borgen 1984, 254.
[18] Philo describes and lists his own educational pursuits and qualifications (*Prelim. Studies* 74-76).
[19] *Dreams* 2.123. Borgen 1984, 257.
[20] Wolfson 1975, 1:188.
[21] *Providence* 2.64. Borgen notes that Philo's visit to the Temple in Jerusalem may indicate that he recognized its rules about calendar and sacrifices. He also says that those points where Philo's views conflict with Rabbinic *Halakhah* can be proven to be a representative of an early stage of common practice (1984, 258-59).
[22] *Spec. Laws* 1.78; *Embassy* 156; *Flaccus* 45-56.

belief that God is sovereign over all creation.[24] He was opposed to participation in pagan cults and worship,[25] and his embassy to Gaius was, in many ways, an attempt to protect Jewish monolatry by avoiding forced participation in emperor worship.

E. R. Goodeneough, followed by Alan Mendelson, has suggested that a "creed" describing the central principles of Philo's faith might be found at the end of the section *On the Creation of the World* (170-172).[26] These principles are arranged in five statements concerning God: 1) God IS and is from eternity; 2) God who really IS is one; 3) God has made the world; 4) God has made it one unique world; and 5) God exercises forethought over creation. The list concludes with Philo exhorting readers to apply these principles:

> He that has begun by learning these things with his understanding rather than with his hearing, and has stamped on his soul impressions of truth so marvelous and priceless, both that God Is and is from eternity, and that He really Is is one, and that He has made the world and has made it one world, unique as Himself is unique, and that he forever exercises forethought over His creation, will lead a life of bliss and blessedness, because he has a character moulded by the truths that piety and holiness enforce. (172)

For Philo, the centrality of God as the single deity responsible for the creation and maintenance of the world is the basis of religious belief. It was impossible, then, for Jews to Hellenize fully because this would lead to an acceptance of the polytheistic tendencies of other religions.

Alongside this 'creed' can be added the belief in God as king.[27] According to Philo God is the invisible ruler of the universe[28] and the only true king who can claim to be completely sovereign (πάηγεμόνι). This position is affirmed, Philo says, by the first of the Ten Commandments, which recognizes only one ruler and king who guides the universe.[29] The position and title of king is attributed to God because, as one who is uncreated,[30] God is the sole creator and maintainer of the universe (ποιητής ἐστιν ἀψευδῶς . . . καὶ βασιλεὺς φύσει).[31] Consequently, God is the

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[23] Both of Philo's works *Embassy* and *Flaccus* give ample evidence to this aversion.
[24] Birnbaum 1996, 13. (Birnbaum uses the term 'monotheism' but I have chosen 'monolatry' because it better reflects the idea that Jews acknowledged the existence of other gods or, at the very least, that non-Jews worshipped other so-called gods).
[25] *Spec. Laws* 1.315-18; *Rewards*. 162-64. Borgen 1997a, 161-62.
[26] Goodenough 1962, 37. Mendelson, 1988, 29; and Wolfson 1975, 1:164.
[27] *Agriculture* 51; *Planting* 33, 85-89; *Confusion* 170; *Flight* 118.
[28] *Names* 15-17; *Abr.* 74; *Spec. Laws*4.176.
[29] *Agriculture* 50; *Decalogue* 154-55.
[30] *Decalogue* 41, 178.
[31] *Moses* 2. 100.

king of kings and God of gods (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων . . . θεὸς θεῶν) and all other supposed gods or kings lack absolute power and are, therefore, subordinated to the true God/king.[32] As mortal, created beings, humans are in a position to serve the immortal king.[33] This places them not in a position of self-rule (οὔκ ἐσμεν αὐτόνομι) but of enslavement to God (κύριον ᾧ δουλευόντες).[34] As slaves of the immortal king, humanity is required to worship the deity rather than things created.[35] However, they need not fear this king, because God is not a tyrant but a law-abiding sovereign not given to irrational and arbitrary ways of ruling.[36] On the contrary, because God is such a great king those who obey him will find that it is of benefit to their soul.[37] This benefit is gained through obedience to the laws that the deity imparts,[38] is contained in the statutes of the scriptures and represents the archetype of the kingship of God.[39]

6.1.4 Summary

Philo's life in a Diaspora Community shaped his awareness of belonging to the Jewish religion.[40] While Greek education and philosophy heavily influenced his writings, he remained primarily a Jew striving to uphold the tenets of his faith in a foreign setting. The long history under foreign oppression and Jewish autonomy in Alexandria certainly would have influenced his views of slavery in many ways. Because autonomy allowed Alexandrian Jews to recognize a foreign sovereign while permitting them to retain ancestral customs, a foreign king could be easily tolerated. This voluntary acquiescence to foreign domination strongly contrasts with the 'Zealot' ideology preserved by Josephus. However, when an attempt was made to change the situation in Alexandria by forcing Jewish participation in aspects of the foreign cult, as in the case of Gaius Caligula, the Jewish response was a tenacious defense of the practice of monolatry and a rejection of the Emperor's attempt to usurp the position of God.

If Philo's writings and sentiments are representative of a larger Jewish contingent in Alexandria, it may be inferred that some Jews were willing to live in

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[32] *Spec. Laws* 1.18-20, 31-32; *Confusion* 173; *Decalogue* 41.
[33] *Good Person* 20.
[34] *Dreams* 2.99-100.
[35] *Spec. Laws* 1.20; *Agriculture* 78.
[36] *Providence* 2.2-3.
[37] *Migration* 146.
[38] *Decalogue* 41.
[39] *Spec. Laws* 4.164.

what amounts to a complex relationship with a foreign oppressor. They were content to be loyal in their *service* to the king as long as the king did not prevent them from being loyal in their *service* to their true king, God. Consequently, there is not in Philo a similar struggle that Josephus presents of the 'Zealot' belief that it is impossible to serve both God and a foreign oppressor. Philo and Josephus both agree that a kind of dual service is possible, but due to the long-term political situation of Alexandria, Philo did not have to direct his efforts towards those who found service to God incompatible with service to a foreign oppressor.

6.2 Covenant and Exile in the Writings of Philo

Covenant and exile were important aspects of the slave of God theme in some of the literature investigated thus far. It is necessary, then, to determine what degree these ideas were or were not reflected in Philo's works and what part they played in his perception of Jews as the slaves of God.

6.2.1 Covenant in Philo

Philo avoids the use of covenant language as a way of describing the Jewish relationship with God.[41] Similar to Josephus, he does not portray covenant as a formal agreement between God and humanity. Philo does not deny that Israel is a chosen nation; he simply ignores the issue and avoids descriptions that relate to an understanding of covenant.[42] Unlike Josephus, however, Philo does not avoid covenant language altogether; it occurs twenty-three times in ten passages of which eight are part of a rehearsal of events or quotations from passages in Genesis and Deuteronomy.[43] But even in these passages Philo does not attempt to explain the Jewish relationship with God; he only provides a philosophical explanation of events in Jewish tradition. For instance, in none of his recounting of Abraham does Philo ever refer to the promise of divine blessing, nor does he ever mention circumcision[44] as a sign of the covenant.[45] This is because Philo does not portray covenant as a

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[40] Mendelson 1988, 78.
[41] Philo claims to have written a treatise on covenant, but it is not extant (*Names* 53; *QE* 2.34).
[42] Birnbaum suggests that the idea of arbitrary election by God would have been offensive to his sophists' readers who would have expected him to act with reason (1996, 138, 164).
[43] *Alleg. Interp.* 3.85.8; *Sacrifices* 57.6; *Worse* 67.2-68.2; *Heir* 313.3; *Names* 51.3-53.3; 58; 263.4; *Dreams* 2.223-224; 2.237; *Spec. Laws* 2.16.7.
[44] In fact, of the four times that Philo mentions circumcision in his writings, it is consistently interpreted not as a covenantal sign, but as having practical value in the area of health, hygiene, and assistance of defeating superfluous pleasures (*Migration* 92.6; *Dreams* 25.2; *Spec. Laws* 1.2.2, 8.3).
[45] Birnbaum 1996, 182.

formal agreement between God and humanity restricted by stipulations.[46] Rather Philo interprets covenant as God's gift of 'himself' to those who have attained virtue and wisdom and are determined to live free of sin and guilt.[47] The introduction of a covenant is not an invitation to obey God, but is a result of God's recognition of obedience already in action.[48] Those who decide to live a life free from sin and guilt receive assistance from God.

A particular way that Philo marks out the Jewish relationship with God is as service to God on behalf of all humanity.[49] According to Philo, Jews are intended to serve as intermediaries between God and all humanity[50] by praying for the nations and serving (θεραπεύειν) God as prophet and priest on behalf of these nations.[51] By performing this service to God, Jews not only act as priest for the world, but they also correct the false worship of the other nations.[52] In *On the Special laws* 2.164-67, Philo says that while some nations venerate and honor different gods, the Jewish nation regards these as not being gods and rejects them in favor of worshiping God the maker of the universe. Birnbaum has noted that when making this claim of corrective worship, Philo implies that it is possible for other nations to serve God once they recognize their error.[53] By constructing the priestly service of Jews in this way, the idea of an exclusive relationship with God as found in a covenant is removed

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[46] Birnbaum notes that Jewish laws and customs are not presented as covenant stipulations but are instead depicted as a path that leads them to God (1996, 166).

[47] In *Who is the Heir* 313.3, Philo presents a rehearsal of Genesis 15.18 and interprets the covenant ceremony allegorically de-emphasizing the concept of a formal agreement between God and man. Instead, Philo interprets the ceremony as a description of how Abraham gained virtue and wisdom. In *On the Change of Names* 51.3-52, Philo says: ". . . freedom from sin and guilt is a great furtherance towards a happy life. And to him who has elected to live in this fashion He promises to leave a covenanted portion such as is fitting for God to give and man to receive, for He says "I will set my covenant between me and between thee" (Gen 17.2). Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace which God has set between Himself who proffers it and man who receives." And further on in line 58, Philo quotes Genesis 17.4 and says: " . . . there are many kinds of covenant, assuring bounties and gifts to the worthy, but the highest form of covenant is 'I myself.' He shows and points to himself, as far as He can be shown who is above all showing, by the words "And I," and adds, "behold my covenant," the beginning and that fountain of all bounties is "I myself."

[48] Elsewhere Philo says that the covenant is the gift of God's grace placed in the souls of humanity as a god-like image of stability; it is God giving himself to the recipient (*Sacrifices* 57.6; *Dreams* 2.223-224, 237).

[49] This is distinctly different from the idea that Israel was to be a nation of priests in an exclusive relationship with God (Gen 12.2-3; Ex 19.6; Lev 20.26).

[50] *Abraham* 98.

[51] *Moses* 1.149; *Spec. Laws* 1.97; 2.162-167.

[52] Birnbaum 1996, 167.

[53] Ibid., 169.

and transformed into a relationship that benefits all of humanity and gives everyone, not just Jews, the opportunity to turn to belief in God. [54]

6.2.2 Exile and Captivity in Philo

The concept of exile occurs even less than covenant in the writings of Philo. Because Philo is not concerned with an exclusive relationship between God and the Jews, there is no need for an exclusive punishment. Terms normally associated with the concept of exile in other Jewish literature occur, but do not carry the usual meaning of punishment for disobedience to God's commands. When Philo uses the Greek term φυγή it is more in the sense of fleeing or escaping from something, usually sin and the passions that cause one to sin.[55] The term is sometimes used to describe people who take refuge either in the biblical cities of refuge or in the protection of God,[56]and there are some cases where it is used to describe banishment as punishment for crime.[57] But none of these is related to the familiar idea of exile as punishment for failure to uphold covenant stipulations.

The same is true of Philo's usage of the Greek captivity term αἰχμάλωτος. Of the twenty-five occurrences of the term preserved in Philo, twenty-two refer specifically to the idea of captivity in war, but are not used to give the fuller idea of a punishing exile.[58] Two occurrences are used metaphorically to describe captivity to sinful pleasures and the enemies of the soul.[59] The final occurrence is found in the work *On Rewards and Punishments* and appears to be the only clear reference in Philo to the idea of Jews being exiled as a result of disobedience. Concerning these exiles Philo says:

> For even though they dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth, in slavery (δουλεύοντες) to those who led them away captive (αἰχμάλωτους), one signal, as it were, one day will bring liberty to all (*Rewards*, 164).

Leading to this statement is Philo's conclusion that the situation of captivity/slavery results from disregard for the laws of God, accommodation to polytheistic creeds and rejection of God as the supreme deity (*Rewards*, 162). Earlier in the section, Philo

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[54] Feldman has observed that Philo's statements that the teaching of the Jews should be extended to every man is a clear indication that they should be given not only to Jews but to non-Jews as well (1993, 318-19).
[55] See for example *Drunkenness* 224.4.
[56] *Abraham* 51.7; *Moses* 1.219.2;
[57] *Cherubim*. 2.2; 4.2; 9.2.
[58] *Alleg. Interp*. 3.225, 232; *Worse*, 14; *Abraham*, 229; *Joseph*, 47, 47; *Moses*, 1.36, 142, 250, 311; *Virtues*, 110, 114, 115; *EGP*, 19, 37, 114, 122; *Flaccus*, 60, 87, 95; *Embassy*, 155; *Hypothetica*, 7.8.
[59] *Sacrifices* 26.2; *Migration* 150.2.

ventures that those who reject obedience to God are destined for enslavement (δουλεύοντες) under their enemies (137-139). There is in Philo, then, a concept of exile as punishment. It is not restricted to the failure to keep covenant stipulations, however, but is interpreted as resulting from a willful disobedience of God and neglect of the practice of monolatry. In the larger context of Philo's perception of the Jewish relationship with God and all humanity, captivity/slavery is interpreted as a punishment for Jews who accept the false worship for which they are supposed to provide a corrective. On the other hand, just as Philo implies that all humanity has the opportunity to turn to God, the above statement also makes Philo's view clear that the Jews will be restored from their captivity if they repent and turn back to God (*Rewards*, 164). This suggests that Philo held a variation of the *Sin-Exile-Return* pattern found in some of the Jewish literature examined above.

6.2.3 The Insider/Outsider Ideology in Philo

Philo's concept of the relationship between God and the Jews is not cast in terms of a covenant, but presents the Jews as intermediaries between God and all humanity. This is not an exclusive relationship but one that includes anyone who acknowledges Israel's God as the only true God. Philo concluded that it was possible for all of humanity to obey God and live a life free from sin and guilt. The implication of this conclusion is that those who recognize God as the creator and ruler of the world are in turn God's slaves (*Dreams* 2.99-100). By mitigating the importance of covenant structures, emphasizing the requirement of monolatry and advocating the inclusion of all humanity by virtue of God's role as creator/king, Philo blurred the boundaries of the insider/outsider ideology of enslavement to God. Similar to Josephus, he was convinced that all of humanity, not just the Jews, had the opportunity to become the slaves of God (insiders) by simply choosing to be obedient to God.

6.3 Philo's Approach to Slavery

Two dimensions informed Philo's approach to slavery. On the one hand, there was Philo the Stoic who sought to explain slavery from a philosophical position, while retaining central elements of his Jewish background. This is best demonstrated in his treatise *Every Good Person is Free*. On the other hand, Philo was also a Jewish exegete. This is demonstrated best in his exegetical/expositional works. For purposes of investigation, the writings of Philo will be examined according to genre: (A) the

more philosophical treatise on the one hand, and (B) the more expository/exegetical ones on the other. This procedure enables the analysis to highlight the distinctiveness of each genre as well as to highlight areas of considerable overlap.

6.3.1 *Every Good Person is Free*

Every Good Person is Free (*EGP*) is Philonic Stoicism *par excellence*.[60] It explores the *paradoxa Stoicorum* laid out by Cicero and is similar in concept to the works of Seneca and Epictetus.[61] It is concerned not with a discussion of physical slavery, but with the implications of moral slavery and its counterpart, freedom, as qualities of the soul.

A. *Two Types of Slavery*

Philo declares that there are two types of slavery. One is applied to bodies that have persons as their master, while another is applied to the soul and is controlled by passions and vices (*Good Person* 17; 158-61). To support this point Philo demonstrates that the common tests to distinguish between freedom and slavery are not always accurate (*Good Person*, 32-40). Service rendered to others,[62] birth into the institution of slavery,[63] the position of being obedient to another,[64] and the misfortune of being kidnapped and sold do not necessarily indicate that one is truly a slave.[65] Instead, Philo argues that each of these tests betray a false assumption; because such criteria are applied inconsistently, true slavery is not a matter of physical subjection but domination of the soul.

Philo also challenges the common understanding of freedom as a physical experience. Those enslaved in the body and subsequently declared free are not really free. While they may no longer be serving others, they are still slaves. This is illustrated with the image of a recently manumitted individual exercising newly found freedom by overindulging in food and drink. Such is not true freedom, asserts Philo, because the soul is still being controlled by desire. Just as a mere title does not enable

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[60] Philo claims to have written a companion treatise *Every Bad Person is a Slave*, but unfortunately it is not extant (*Good Person* 1).
[61] Garnsey 1996, 157.
[62] Services rendered are not proof of slavery. Soldiers and hired laborers are used as an example to show that service is not always indicative of slavery (*Good Person* 33-34).
[63] Those born into slavery may enjoy the same privileges as freeborn: ownership of property and houses, rulers of fellow slaves and sometimes having the widows or orphans of a deceased master placed in their charge being preferred over family (*Good Person* 35).
[64] Giving obedience to others does not indicate slavery. Children obey parents and pupils their students and this does not render them slaves (*Good Person* 36).
[65] Being kidnapped and sold does not make a person a slave because this is an action contrary to the true status of the person (*Good Person* 37).

a person to enter the role of teacher, so also a declaration cannot make slaves free (*Good Person* 156-157). True freedom, according to Philo, is manifested in the good person who acts sensibly and cannot be compelled to do anything contrary to virtue (*Good Person* 60). Slaves can never really be happy because they have no power over anything, including themselves. True freedom is found in high morality (*Good Person* 41). Genuinely free persons are not those who make claims of independence and self-determination, but those who are ruled by God.

> Though many may claim to be his master, yet because he has God as his leader he is truly free (*Good Person*, 18-20).

Important here is the possibility of having a physical master who controls the body and while being free. The truly free person is the one who has allowed their soul to be ruled by God rather than passions or vices.[66]

Contrarily, those who choose death over slavery are not actually wise because no one of true worth can be mastered by another human being (*Good Person* 134-136).[67] Those threatened with physical slavery have nothing to fear, because their souls are free. As an example of a wise person who was not a slave, Philo offers Moses:

> The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit went to a further extreme and in the practice of his naked philosophy, as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the self-existent only, as having passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods. Does one who has obtained so great a preferment deserve to be considered a slave (δοῦλον) and rather solely free? Though he was not deemed worthy of divine rank in his own right, yet because he had God for a friend, he was bound to have absolute felicity, for he had no feeble champion, nor one neglectful of the rights of friendship in Him who is the comrade's god and keeps watch over the claims of comradeship (*Good Person* 43-44).

According to Philo's Stoic model, Moses deserved the title of free person rather than slave because he had God as his friend and worshipped God as the only true God.[68]

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[66] Philo provides numerous examples of this paradox, including one of how Hercules did not allow the fact that he had been purchased and given the title as slave by Syleus to control how he acted. Instead, Hercules consistently acted in a manner that indicated he was not only free, but the master and not the slave (*Good Person* 101-106).

[67] Contrast Philo's attitude towards slavery with the ideological Zealot slogan in Josephus of "we prefer death to slavery" (§ 5.2.3c).

[68] Garnsey 1996, 160.

B. *Physical Slavery as a Form of Protection*

Philo does find value in physical slavery, however, as a tool for instruction and protection. In an allusion to the enslavement of Esau (not mentioned by name), Philo says that there are times when physical slavery is a good thing in order to protect the unwise from transgressing:

> . . . the law book of the Jews tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, how the father of the both prayed in pity for him who had not attained virtue that he should be his brother's slave (ἵνα δουλεύσῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ). He held that slavery (δουλείαν), which men think the worst of evils, was the best possible boon to the fool, because the loss of independence would prevent him from transgressing without fear of punishment, and his character would be improved under the control of the authority set above him (*Good Person*, 57).

This reiterates and reinforces Philo's earlier claims that not physical slavery, but enslavement of the soul is a threat. By becoming enslaved in body, the unwise are protected from their own indiscretions and benefit from obedience to the authority over them. In fact, Philo seems to suggest that the unwise can become wise because through their bodily enslavement their souls are made free.

C. *Summary*

Philo's position in *EGP* is that the wise person is the follower and friend of God. Those who reject God are enslaved by unwise passions that rule the soul in place of God. By making this connection of wisdom with God, Philo follows the Stoic model of the wise man as free. But this is also an aspect of Philo's Judaism because there is an implicit recognition that the source of wisdom is God. Yet Philo is careful not to call anyone the 'slave of God' but rather the 'friend of God.' Because the treatise is primarily Stoic, the notion that one was a slave of God would have seemed contrary to the notion of freedom through the attainment of wisdom.[69] In order to retain a *paradoxa Stoicorum* Philo substituted the common Jewish designation of the relationship with God as one of δοῦλος for one as φίλος.[70]

6.3.2. The Exegetical/Expositional Material

The main purpose of Philo's exegetical/expositional work was to comment on the Pentateuch for the benefit of Jewish and Hellenistic readers. These works reflect

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[69] This is comparable to Epictetus and Seneca who conclude that the free person is a friend of God, obeys him willingly but is not God's slave but rather gives his free assent to God (Epictetus *Diss.* 4.3.9; Seneca *De prov.* 5.6).
[70] Rengstorf 1964, 2:269.

many of the practices of Jewish exegesis incorporated with aspects of Greek philosophy.[71] Unlike *EGP*, this material is neither concerned with slavery nor set up as a Stoic argument. The material is primarily intended as a theological commentary to help readers understand the intention of the Pentateuch. It is proposed, therefore, that any of Philo's thoughts on slavery that can be extracted from these works reflects a more theological intent rather than a strictly philosophical intent. Aspects of Stoicism are still evident, but its presence is not due to a position of primacy, but as a tool to help Philo expound on the virtues of slavery and service to God.

A. *Slavery of the Soul*

Some of Philo's treatment of slavery is reminiscent of *EGP* in that slavery and freedom are still often a matter of moral qualities of the soul. The battleground where these qualities are gained and lost is the human mind, which must be guided by reason as opposed to pleasure. Pleasure is presented as a deceiver that carefully waits until it gains mastery over the reasoning facility of the mind and, once accomplished, makes reason become the slave of pleasure. Philo concedes that there are some things in life that are necessary and at the same time provide pleasure. For instance, the consumption of food and drink are both necessary and can provide pleasure. However, those who do not approach the table with reason as if prepared with a weapon will become enslaved to the pleasures being offered.[72] With the loss of reason, individuals become enslaved to the passions that drive them to pleasure and are no longer in control of themselves, but at the mercy of their passions.[73] Given as examples are the first man and woman who become "enslaved to a grievous and hard to heal passion (οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι δοῦλοιχαλεποῦ καὶ δυσιάτου πάθους)" resulting in Eve's pain in childbirth and Adam's toil with the soil (*Creation* 167).

For Philo, enslavement to pleasure was tantamount to a rejection of God and God's wisdom. After quoting the statements in Genesis 2.24 that relate to man and woman cleaving to one another, Philo provides an allegorical interpretation of this 'cleaving' as an illustration of how pleasure leads to a rejection of God and enslavement of the mind. He comments:

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[71] Borgen 1984, 233, 259.

[72] Philo admits that this has happened to him when he participated in dinners, but was not prepared with reason (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.156).

[73] *Creation 165; Alleg. Interp. 221; Sacrifices 32.22; Heir 271; Dreams 2.51.*

> For the sake of sense-perception the mind, when it has become her slave (αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ), abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellent wisdom (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.49).

But this rejection is two-sided. In a quotation of Exodus 21.5 describing the ear-boring ceremony of slave reluctant to leave the master, Philo says that anyone who declares a desire to remain enslaved is rejected by God and sentenced to perpetual slavery.

> . . . when God bids his ear to be pierced, in order that it may not admit words of virtue, and bids him be a slave (δουλεύειν) for ever to Mind and to sense, a bad and pitiless master (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.198-99).

For Philo, it is impossible for someone to serve both God and pleasure. The two are so diametrically opposed that the acceptance of one is the equivalent of rejecting the other. Humans choose either to obtain wisdom through God or they reject God to be enslaved to pleasure and in turn are rejected by God.

B. *The Benefits of Physical Slavery*

As in *EGP*, physical slavery is regarded as a benefit. The foolish are better off being subordinated to one who has obtained wisdom and thus benefit from the harsh treatment of slavery. If they fail to respond, then they are doomed to a life of chastisement.[74] Philo says:

> But those whose natural wit is more dense and dull, whose early training has been mishandled, since they have no power of clear vision, need physicians in the shape of admonishers, who will devise treatment proper to their present condition. Thus ill-disciplined and foolish slaves (ἄφροσιν οἰκέταις) receive profit from a master who frightens them, for they fear his threats and menaces and thus involuntarily are schooled by fear. All such may well learn the untruth, which will benefit them, if they cannot be brought to wisdom by truth (*Unchangeable* 64).

And in another place:

> It is with good reason that Moses writes down the fool as the slave (δοῦλον τὸν ἄφρονα) of them who lay claim to virtue, either that promoted to serve under a higher control he may lead a better life, or that, if he cling to his iniquity, his masters may chastise him at their pleasure and with the absolute authority which they wield as rulers (Sobriety 69).

The positive attributes of physical slavery are exemplified in Philo by the figure of Esau. While *EGP* alluded to Esau without naming him, Philo takes the opportunity in his commentary material to establish Esau as the foolish antithesis to

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[74] Garnsey 1996, 169.

Jacob the wise person.[75] Even before Esau's birth God deemed that it was necessary for him to be enslaved under Jacob. God recognized the dangers of the irrational even before it fully developed.

> Once again, of Jacob and Esau, when still in the womb, God declares that the one is a ruler and leader and master but that Esau is a subject and a slave (δοῦλος). For God the maker of living beings knows well the different pieces of His own Handiwork, even before He has thoroughly chiseled and consummated them, and the faculties which they are to display at a later time in a word, their deeds and experiences . . . For in God's Judgement that which is base and irrational is by nature a slave (φύσει δοῦλον), but that which is of fine character and endowed with reason and better, is princely and free. And this is not only when either is full-grown, but even if their development is still uncertain (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.88-9).

Esau's parents (Isaac and Rebecca) also recognized the foolishness of their son and prayed that a position of enslavement, the most humiliating form of subordination, would be of benefit to him.

> Thus, so profitable a thing is affliction of one sort that even its most humiliating form, slavery (δουλεία), is reckoned a great blessing. Such slavery we read in the Holy Scriptures as invoked by a father on his son, by the most excellent Isaac on the foolish Esau. There is a place where he says: 'Thou shalt live on the sword and shall be a slave to thy brother' [Gen 27.40]. He judges it most profitable for him who chooses war instead of peace, who by reason of his inward tumult and rebellion is armed, as it were, with the weapons of war, that he should become a subject and a slave (δουλεῦσαι) and obey all the orders that the lover of self-control may impose (*Prelim. Studies* 175-76).

And in another place:

> For the younger they [the parents] prayed that he should be blessed above all others, all which prayers God confirmed, and would not that any of them should be left unfulfilled. But to the elder in compassion they granted an inferior station to serve his brother (ἵνα δουλεύη τῷ ἀδελφῷ), rightly thinking that it is not good for the fool to be his own master (*Virtues* 209).

Because Esau considered himself wise, he unknowingly became enslaved to those who really were wise. But the benefit of this slavery was such that if embraced it would provide him with an opportunity to escape the old master of the soul in exchange for a new, kind master.

> But vainly deeming himself wise is he who says, 'My blessings and my birthright hath he taken': not thine, man, does he take, but those which are opposite of to thine: for those which are thine have been accounted meet for slavery, but for his lordship. And if thou shalt consent to become a slave of

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[75] Ibid.

> the wise one, thou shalt cast from thee ignorance and boorishness, plagues of the soul, and be a partaker of admonition and correction . . . Now indeed thou art a slave (δοῦλος) of harsh and insufferable masters within thee, to whom it is a fixed law to set no one free. But if thou escape and abandon these, a master to whom his slaves are dear (φιλόδουλος δεσπότης) shall welcome thee, holding out bright hopes of liberty, and shall not give thee up again to thy former masters (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.192-94).

According to Philo, physical slavery has the benefit of leading to slavery to God. It is the opportunity to be free from one master of the soul in exchange for another. Esau, however, chose to rebel and rejected the rule that was set over him (*Virtues* 210). This rejection may be interpreted as a rejection of God. Because he was unwilling to release himself from the masters of his soul and unwilling to submit to those who could bring correction in his life, he was forever destined to be chastised and unable to serve God. Thus, Esau serves a prototype of all who are foolish by their lack of wisdom and their unwillingness to attain it. They are condemned to slavery in both the body and the soul, forever unable to have God as their master or to be God's slaves.

Philo's acceptance of physical slavery as a benefit leading to slavery under God is similar to the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* In the Jewish literature examined thus far, physical slavery was portrayed as either a punishment for disobedience of covenant stipulations or as an opportunity for God to triumph over enemies of the Jews. If enslavement occurred, justified or unjustified, the response was to be one of obedience in a humbling situation in anticipation that God would bring about exaltation. In Philo, however, there is a distinct lack of interest in covenant material or, with the exception of the embassy to Gaius, enemies of the Jews. Because Philo was interested in seeing humanity freed from the bondage of passions and pleasures, he presented physical slavery as a tool used by God to exalt the enslaved to a position of slavery to God. Those who are unwise and enslaved in their soul and are presented with the possibility of bodily enslavement should accept this position as an opportunity that will teach them the ways of wisdom and truth and allow their soul to be exalted by God over their humbling physical situation.

C. *Slavery to God*

This leads to a discussion of the contrast in Philo between who is a slave of God and who is not. The figure of Esau typifies who is unable to be a slave of God,

but what is it that makes one a slave of God? The answer to this question is located in Philo's concept of who God is and how humanity should respond.

Reflecting back on the creed at the end of *On the Creation of the World* (170-2) and his belief in God as king, Philo's most basic assumption about God may be summed up thus: "God is the One God who created all and exercises authority over all." Those who recognize this and respond properly will live a life of blessedness.[76] Once God's authority as creator is recognized, slavery to God becomes a natural implication. Philo tells his readers that because God is creator of all and formed not out of need but out of love, humanity therefore, as "[his] slaves (δοῦλοι)," should "follow our master with profoundest awe and reverence" (*Names 46.4*). Furthermore, because God is creator and not created, God is in control of the order of creation and, as in the case of Manna from heaven and water from the rock, may change the order of creation.

> But God has subject to Himself not one portion of the universe, but the whole world and its parts, to minister as slaves to their master (δεσπότῃ δοῦλα ὑπηρτήσοντα) for every service that He wills" (*Moses* 1.202).

This focus on the complete sovereignty of God is emphasized in Philo's interpretation of Leviticus's repetitive statement "I am the Lord" which he takes to mean: "I am sovereign and king and master." In response to this sovereignty, Philo insists that humanity should be obedient to God, as a slave is obedient to a master (*Giants* 46.2). This sovereignty not only dictates obedience, but also the dependence of the created upon the creator. In a prayer attributed to Moses, he says:

> Reign through the age that has no limit over the soul that implores Thee, never leaving it for one moment without a sovereign Ruler: for never-ceasing slavery under thee (ἀδιάστατος παρὰ σοὶ δουλεία) surpasses not freedom only but the highest sovereignty (*Planting* 53.6).

Sovereignty of God and the slavery of creation are two of the basic elements of the relationship that exists between God and humanity. Without God, the souls of humanity have no beginning and no one to guide them through eternity.

Humanity's response to the sovereignty of God should be one of obedience and loyalty coupled with the rejection of self-rule. This is illustrated thorough Philo's portrayal of Abraham as a wise person. Philo relates that when the angels of the Lord met Abraham at his tent, they were willing to eat with him because they recognized

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[76] *Creation* 172.

him as a fellow slave of God (ὁμόδουλον, *Abraham* 116). Philo believes that it was the recognition of Abraham's piety and a common master that caused them to accept his hospitality. In another place, Abraham's loyalty and obedience provide the boldness needed to talk openly with God:

> When then is it that the slave (οἰκέτης) speaks frankly to his master? Surely it is when his heart tells him that he has not wronged his owner, but that the words and deeds are all for the owner's benefit. And so when else should the slave of God (τὸν θεοῦ δοῦλον) open his mouth freely to Him Who is ruler of the All, save when he is pure from sin and the judgements of his conscience are loyal to his master, when he feels more joy at being the slave of God (θεράπων θεοῦ) than if he had been king of all the human race and assumed an uncontested sovereignty over land and sea alike (*Heir* 6-7).

Further on this obedience is praised for its unyielding effort and loyalty:

> It is the highest praise which can be given to a slave (οἰκέτου) that he neglects none of his master's commands, that never hesitating in his labor of love he employs all and more than all his powers as he strives with whole hearted zeal to bring all his business to a successful issue (*Heir*. 9).

The idea of being ruled rather than ruling is a central element of Philo's concept of slavery to God. In addition to recognizing the sovereignty of God, Abraham typifies the wise person as one who is free from sin and finds no benefit from being his own sovereign. On the contrary, Philo agrees that Abraham, similar to the prayer of Moses cited above, had realized that being a slave of God was of more benefit to him than being the uncontested king of the world or, in another sense, the ruler of all things including himself.

This rejection of self-rule as a response to God's sovereignty is emphasized most clearly in the response given by Joseph's brothers to his dream about them bowing down and worshipping him. They say:

> Will thou indeed be king and king it over us, or dost thou fail to know that we are not self-ruling (οὔκ ἐσμεν αὐτόνομι) but under the kingship of an immortal king, the one and only God? Will thou indeed be lord and lord it over us? Are we not under a master, and have we not and shall we not have forever the same lord, slavery to whom gives us more joy than freedom does to any other? For of all the things that are held in honor in this world of creation slavery to God is the best (τὸ δουλεύειν θεῷ πάντων ἄριστον, *Dreams* 2.100).

The response of the brothers is insightful because it summarizes how Philo approaches the slave of God relationship. It emphasizes the oneness and sovereignty of God, God's connection with creation, and the desire of humanity to be ruled rather

than having the ability to rule. Of all the things that Philo says, his final statement above best summarizes his opinion; *of all things . . . slavery to God is the best!*[77]

D. *Summary*

According to Philo, all of humanity is unavoidably enslaved in its soul. In response to this, a choice must be made between enslavement to foolish passions and pleasures on the one hand and slavery to God on the other. At times God uses physical slavery in order to help bring about the release of the enslaved soul. Rejection of this slavery and its subsequent benefits is a rejection of God and in turn necessitates a rejection by God. Alternatively, those who recognize that God is the sovereign creator of all things and respond in loyal obedience will find that of all the things desired, it is best to be ruled rather than rule. As those created by God, humanity's enslavement to God is not only a logical choice, it is the best choice!

6.4 Conclusion

The extent to which slavery metaphors are operative in Philo's work is significant. Philo's approach to slavery represents Judaism, or at least one stream of Judaism in Alexandria, as it was coming to terms with foreign oppression while finding a way to fulfill the obligations intrinsic in the Jewish self-identification as slaves of God. The apparent acceptance of foreign rulers by some Jews in Alexandria does not represent a concession or repudiation of traditional Jewish ideals, but a modification that incorporated the reality of the Diaspora situation. For Philo and those he may have represented, it was a way to acknowledge the existence and influence of a foreign king while still adhering to the Jewish confession of the overall sovereignty of God as the creator of the universe. Instead of perceiving the Jewish position in the Diaspora as one requiring a reclusive defense of the tenets of Judaism, Philo depicts Jews as having an active role in their situation precisely because they are the slaves of God. By opting not to describe the Jews' relationship with God in terms of an exclusive covenant, the position of Judaism in Philo represents not privilege but obligation. As the slaves of God Jews were to act as intermediaries between God and the rest of the world, thereby correcting the misguided worship directed at other gods and leading non-Jews to a relationship of enslavement to the true God/king.

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[77] The idea of slavery to God as something to which one can aspire is also found in *QE* 2.105, but is in the context of the priestly service of Aaron rather than the response of humanity to the sovereignty of God.

6. *Responses to Slavery in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria*

Because of the Jewish acceptance of foreign rule in Alexandria and the perception of the Jewish position as intermediaries for all humanity, Philo regarded physical slavery as having ultimately no consequence. It was not the physical enslavement that could hinder them but rather bondage of their soul to those things that could potentially prevent them from being enslaved to God. Rather than viewing physical enslavement as merely a punishment for disobedience, something which Philo does to a much lesser extent than other Jewish authors, he commends slavery of the body as advantageous because it can lead one to become a slave of God. While slavery was recognized as a manifestation of God's punishment in other early Jewish literature, most authors did not perceive it as a permanent or even advantageous position (e.g. 1 Baruch, Judith, Zealots in Josephus). Physical enslavement was regarded as contrary to the status of being a slave of God. Philo, however, did not hold the combination of physical enslavement and the Jewish status as slaves of God as incongruous. Rather than concentrating on physical enslavement, Philo focused on the dangers of the enslavement of the soul. Slavery of the soul represented the rejection of God and subsequent rejection by God. The slave of God, on the other hand, is that person who recognizes that God is the creator of the universe and the only true and sovereign God. Those who recognize God in this way will abhor their own self-determination in exchange for the opportunity of entering into unceasing slavery to God.

Chapter 7

Slavery, Noble Birth and the Figure of Joseph

It has been demonstrated thus far that Jewish notions of slavery to God developed from the tradition of Israel's release from slavery in Egypt and subsequent enslavement to God. Subsequent occurrences of physical enslavement in Israelite history were often interpreted as punishment for failure to remain in loyal service to God and were framed in the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return*. In response to this interpretation, some early Jewish writings attempted to reconcile Israel's claim to be God's slaves with the problem that Jews were sometimes enslaved though they had not been disloyal to God. This problem led to a response framed in the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation*. In some circles, however, this problem led to an overcompensation that went beyond responding to unjustified slavery to attempting to eliminate any hint that slaves had been integrated at all into the pure line of Jewish ancestry. The following chapter demonstrates the results of these efforts by examining the following: (1) the unease with which some Jewish interpreters approached the subject of patriarchal copulation with slaves; (2) the introduction of noble birth as a response to slavery; (3) the belief among some that imitation of the patriarchs was a way of demonstrating solidarity with Judaism; and (4) the presentation of Joseph as a prototype of those who are unjustly enslaved.

7.1 Patriarchs and Slaves in Early Jewish Interpretations of Scripture

Some early Jewish interpreters expressed reservations about the identification in Genesis 30.1-13 of Leah and Rachel's handmaids Zilpah and Bilhah (παιδίσκαι) as the mothers of four of the tribes of Israel (Gad, Asher, Dan, Naphtali). Some of the clearest evidence for this is found in *T. Naphtali* 1.5-12.[1] Here a lineage was concocted for the children of Zilpah and Bilhah that traces the slave women's lineage to the tribe of Abraham in Chaldea through a fictitious ancestor named Rotheos. *T. Naphtali* asserts that Rotheos, one who honored God and was free and nobly born, had been taken captive (αἰχμάλωτισθείς) and purchased (ἠγοράσθη) by Laban who in turn gave to him Aina, a slave girl (παιδίσκη), as a wife. Aina bore for Rotheos

two daughters, Zilpah[2] and Bilhah who later became the mothers of the four patriarchs.[3] This manufacturing of an ancestry back to Abraham reveals the importance of the handmaid's children being part of the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob lineage on both parents' sides and thus being in a position to claim a proper place in the destiny of the nation.[4] The fact that there is no mention of any sons that Rotheos and Aina may have produced emphasizes that the author's purpose was to legitimize the ancestry of the handmaids' children.[5] The description of Rotheos and his daughters in a situation of enslavement under Laban becomes irrelevant in light of their true status, which is an ancestry through Abraham, interfered with by unjust captivity/enslavement. By creating the lineage, the author avoided the implicit classification that Naphtali and his brothers were the "sons of a slave."[6] Moreover, Jacob is no longer portrayed as producing offspring through slaves, but through distant relatives from his own family.

The Qumran fragment 4QTNaphtali (4Q215) also includes a genealogy for Bilhah, but it is somewhat different than Greek *T. Naphtali*.[7] Here, in what remains of the fragmented text, Bilhah's father is not named Rotheos but Ahiyot and missing is any mention that he was from the same tribe as Abraham in Chaldea.[8] Similar to Greek *T. Naphtali*, it says that he went into captivity; but rather than describing Laban as purchasing Ahiyot as a slave, Laban is said to have freed Ahiyot from captivity (וילך וישלח לבן ופרקהו) and to have given him his maidservant Hannah who bore him Zilpah and Bilhah (ויתן את הנה). Even with these differences, however, the same intention is evident in both the Greek and the latter versions of the genealogy. The status of Rachel and Leah's handmaids was not one of birth in enslavement and consequently neither was it for the four sons they bore their mistresses. This

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[1] For a discussion about the Jewish/Christian nature of this document see above § 4.2.2.
[2] The author claims that Zilpah received her name from the village in which Rotheos had been taken captive (*T.Naph.* 1.11).
[3] *Jubilees* 28.9 also claims that Zilpah and Bilhah were sisters.
[4] Kee 1983, 811.
[5] Apparently, the status of Aina, Rotheos' wife, as a slave did not concern the Author. What was important was that it could be demonstrated that Naphtali and his three brothers had parents of the noble lineage of Abraham on both sides.
[6] Hints of conflict between the children of the four mothers may be seen in the Genesis account which portrays Joseph as presenting a negative report to his father concerning the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah (Gen. 37.2).
[7] Stone 1996a, 20-36; and 1996b, 311-321. Codex Oxford d11 (the chronicle of Jerahmeel) also contains a Hebrew *T. Naph.*, but not a Genealogy (1996a, 23).
[8] Stone has compared the fragment to similar material found in Midrashic writings *Berešit rabbati* [Brab] associated with R. Moses the Preacher from Narbone in the eleventh century (1996a, 23, 31).

approach to the problem may be an attempt by the author of 4Q215 to remove the stain of slavery from Naphtali and his brothers by not leaving their grandfather in a perpetual state of enslavement to Laban. Rotheos's enslavement is related merely as an unfortunate event. Whatever the reason, the results of the lineage in the Qumran fragment is the same as Greek *T. Naphtali*; the offspring of the handmaids could not be legitimately identified as the sons of slaves.[9]

Joseph and Aseneth is familiar with the problems surrounding the status of the handmaids' children and uses this as the basis for an attack attributed to the four brothers against Aseneth. In 24.7-10, Pharaoh's son enlists the four brothers Gad, Asher, Dan and Naphtali in a plan that will fulfill his political and romantic ambitions. In order to convince the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah to help him, he fabricates a conversation overheard between Joseph and Pharaoh. He claims to have heard Joseph declare his intention to murder the four patriarchs after Jacob's death in revenge for their sale of him to the Ishmaelites. The reason for the decision to punish these four and not the other brothers is that they are the sons of handmaids (δίοτι τέκνα παιδισκων εἰσὶν) and consequently should not be allowed to share in the inheritance of Jacob with the other eight brothers. Here, unlike *T. Naphtali*, the author does not avoid the status of the handmaids' children but instead uses the historical tension between the sons of the various mothers as part of the plot. Readers of *Joseph and Aseneth* may have been familiar with accusations that those who descended from these women were not from the pure line of Israel and thus held a secondary status as the sons of slaves.

Josephus also attempts to get around the status of the handmaids. In *Antiquities* 1.303, he recounts the giving of the handmaids in Genesis 30, but is careful to differentiate for the reader that although they are handmaids (θεράπαινες) they are by no means slaves, but subordinates (δοῦλαι μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὑποτεταγμέναι δέ). The reason Josephus inserts this comment here is not clear, but this section follows an earlier discussion in 1.187-88, 215-216 describing how Sarah feared that Ishmael, as the eldest son of Abraham, would, upon his father's death, become heir and kill Isaac. Josephus may be trying to differentiate for his readers the difference between the status of the handmaid Hagar whose son had no inheritance in

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[9] Stone notes that the Qumran fragment demonstrates the existence of a Naphtali tradition in the Second Temple Period (1996a, 35).

Israel (θεράπαινίδιων 'Αγάρην) from that of Zilpah and Bilhah who gave birth to legitimate heirs.

Josephus also exhibits reservations about the practice of sexual relations with slaves. In *Antiquities* 3.276, slaves are added to the list of women from Leviticus 21.7-14 that priests are forbidden to marry. Josephus seems to interpret the fear of pollution and the regulation of marrying within the family as a disqualification of slaves.[10] In *Against Apion* 1.35, the restriction is repeated with the added explanation that it was assumed that female slaves probably had frequent intercourse with foreigners.[11] The seriousness of this regulation is emphasized by instances recorded in Josephus of how descent from a slave or captive was used as an accusation, albeit false, in an attempt to disqualify two different Hasmonean high priests.[12]

Josephus does not stop, however, in applying the restrictions to the priestly population only. Laity should also follow this restriction by not allowing freemen to take female slaves into marriage regardless of how strong the bond of love is. Such passions are to be mastered and put aside in consideration of what is suitable (πρόσφορον), honorable (ἀξιώμασι) and befits a good outward appearance (εὐπρπὲς, *Ant.* 4.244).[13] Josephus ranks the slave in the same category as the prostitute and seems to assume that they are of foreign rather than Jewish origin. Any attempt to introduce one into a marriage was to bring a disgrace upon the Jewish freeman and presumably his people.

Bias against the four brothers can also be detected in the works of Philo. Philo regularly describes Zilpah and Bilhah as handmaids, but his portrayals of the sons and the matter of wider family relationships are inconsistent.[14] For example, Issachar is described as being Jacob's fifth legitimate son ('Ισσάχαρ γνήσιος τοῦ 'Ιακώβ); unless one also reckons the sons of Zilpah (συνκαταριθμουμένων), then he is the

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[10] Thackeray 1926-1965, 4, 93.
[11] Josephus' reason is in agreement with *b.Yeb.* 61a that forbids priests to marry slaves because they may have had intercourse with Idolaters.
[12] In *Antiquities* 13.292, 372 both John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus are accused of having descended from captives and thus unfit to serve as High Priest. Josephus notes that this was not only a baseless charge but was also an incredible insult.
[13] This is admittedly a strange thing for Josephus to say since he himself admits having married a captive. He says that the woman was an inhabitant of the country and thus presumably a Jew which could explain any apparent contradiction. The fact that he records that he later divorced her may reflect his later opinion concerning such arrangements (*Life*, 75).
[14] τῶν δυεῖν θεραπαίνιδων, Ζέλφα τε καὶ Βάλλαν, *Congr.* 29; Βάλλας τῆς παιδίσκης 'Ραχήλ, *Alleg. Interp.*11.94.

seventh.[15] Zilpah and Bilhah are described by Philo as Jacob's wives, but their children are not considered legitimate (γνησίου) but bastard brothers (νόθων ἀδελφῶν), the sons of concubines and, as Philo carefully points out, the children of their mothers but not their father (*Unchangeable*, 119-121).[16]

In Philo's work on *Virtues*, however, the situation is completely changed. Here Zilpah and Bilhah are said to have ceased being handmaids. When they became Jacob's wives they gained equal status with Rachel and Leah (καὶ ἀντὶ θεράπαινίδιων ἰσότιμοι ταῖς δέσποιναις). Furthermore, it is claimed that the children of these women were not hated or treated as step-relations, but were loved by the others as all joined together into a single harmonious family (223-225).

Such interpretations are not restricted to writers of the Second Temple period, but extend into later literature as well. In *Genesis Rabbah* it is claimed that Zilpah and Bilhah were Laban's daughters through a concubine and that Joseph despised their children because they were 'the sons of slaves' (*GenR.* 37.2).[17] *Exodus Rabbah* notes that in the scriptures the tribes of Israel are often presented in various orders and suggests that this was to prevent anyone from putting the children of the wives before the handmaids, probably a recognition of the propensity for this to happen (*ExR.* 1.6).

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis is careful to describe the role of concubines in such a way that children produced through a union of patriarch and slave are not given the status of slaves. In 16.2-5, Sarah is said to have freed her handmaid Hagar before giving her to Abraham. Similarly, Zilpah and Bilhah are freed from their servile position before being handed over to Jacob for the purposes of producing offspring (30.4, 11).[18] By presenting the situation of patriarch/slave copulation in this manner, the translator ensures that all of the children of Israel are recognized as legitimate and not under the stigma of being born as the sons of slaves.

The Mishnah does not exhibit any particular reservations about Zilpah and Bilhah, but it does provide some important insights. According to *Kiddushin* 3.12 the offspring of a female slave is regulated by the societal status of the woman. Thus, if an Israelite male conceives with a slave, the offspring is recognized as a slave because

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[15] *Alleg. Interp.*, 11.94

[16] υἱοι γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν Βαλλᾶς και Ζελφᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς νυνι καλοῦνται (*Unchangeable*, 121).

[17] מולולים הם בבני השפחות וקרין להם עבדים (*GenR.* 37.2).

[18] שחררת ליה ית בלהה אמתה (*Tar Jon* 30.4)

the relationship was invalid based on the woman's status.[19] Paul Flesher's comments on this passage are helpful at this point:

> (T)he Bondwoman deprives the man of his ability to control his offspring's status, she clearly possesses the capacity to dictate her children's status. . . (It) reveals that bondwomen cannot enter a permitted sexual union with an Israelite male. . . Since she cannot become betrothed, she cannot be party to a legally recognized marriage and no slave can form kinship ties of any sort – a necessary prerequisite of a valid marriage. Thus, in the Mishnah, the bondwoman has no capacity to form a legal marriage and cannot form a valid kinship tie with her sex partner.[20]

Does the Mishnah reflect upon principles held by Jews during the Second Temple period? The effort of some traditions to remove evidence of patriarch/slave copulation suggests that it does. If so then any hint of a patriarch having intercourse with, or being descended from, a slave would nullify claims of kinship by either the slave or their offspring. The *halakhic* ruling would have threatened the status of Zilpah and Bilhah's children. Thus editorial efforts were undertaken to legitimize four of the tribes of Israel.[21]

7.2 Εὐγένεια as a Response to Slavery

Returning to *T. Naphtali*, we may note an important statement made in conjunction with Rotheos. In 1.10 the author claims that Rotheos was from the same Chaldean tribe as Abraham, and that he was free (ἐλεύθερος) and of noble birth (εὐγενής). Immediately following this statement is a description of Rotheos's captivity and subsequent sale to Laban (1.11). The structure of the passage suggests a contrast between Rotheos's status as a free and nobly born Chaldean with his unjust captivity/enslavement. In particular the idea of Rotheos's noble birth presents a clear reason why he should be disqualified from being a slave and is an important link that legitimizes the children of Zilpah and Bilhah. If it could be proved that Rotheos was of a noble lineage rather than one of slavery, then his grandchildren would also be heirs of that noble lineage and unable to be described as the sons of slaves.

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[19] *M. Kiddushin* 3.12 says; In every place where a man and a woman may effect betrothal and no transgression befalls because of the marriage – the offspring takes on the caste status of the man. And who does this statement concern? A woman who is a priest, Levite, or an Israelite married to a man who is like a priest, a Levite or an Israelite. Thus the offspring is a priest, a Levite or an Israelite. And in every case in which she may not effect betrothal with the specific man in question, and she may not effect betrothal with any other man, the offspring takes her own social position. And who does this statement concern? A bondwoman and a gentile woman. Thus the offspring is a slave or a gentile.
[20] Flesher 1988, 95-96.

B. A. Pearson and S.S. Bartchy have each suggested that the term εὐγένεια does not simply refer to aristocratic birth but was a technical term whose background could be found in Hellenistic Judaism.[22] Unfortunately, both Pearson and Bartchy 7. *Slavery, Noble* provide little explanation or support for their suggestion. If they are correct that εὐγένεια was a technical term in Hellenistic Judaism, it would be helpful to discover from where in Hellenism this concept might have derived and how it was applied throughout a variety of Jewish works. Therefore, a more comprehensive investigation is required.

7.2.1 Εὐγένεια in Greek Philosophical Works

A survey of the authors available on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM reveals approximately 1,800 occurrences of some form of εὐγένεια. A majority of these can be easily categorized as descriptions of aristocratic birth among the rich and powerful. But there are several references that may be of significance for understanding the term's appearance and use in Hellenistic Judaism.

In the early part of the third century C.E., Diogenes Laertius recorded that Aristotle and Metrodorus both wrote books on the idea of εὐγένεια.[23] Unfortunately, however, neither document of these authors is extant.[24] Diogenes does provide, nevertheless, what he describes as Plato's four divisions of εὐγένεια. These are as follows: 1) Those who are handsome, gentle and just are considered noble as are their descendants; 2) the descendants of princes and magistrates are noble; 3) ancestors who are illustrious through either military or national success are noble as are their descendants; and 4) those who are generous and of a high-minded spirit are noble and actually possess the highest form of nobility.[25] According to Plato it is the fourth division that is best because εὐγένεια is not dependent upon ancestry but on one's self-worth.

In addition to Plato, Diogenes Laertius also records that Antisthenes taught that εὐγένεια belonged to the virtuous. Virtue was a matter of deeds that could guide the wise man in public and private life and was sufficient for happiness when

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[21] Ginzberg similarly commented: "The tendency of Jewish legend is to make all the tribes related to Abraham, on their paternal as well as their maternal side, and hence the statement that Rotheos was of the family of Abraham" (1968, 5:295).
[22] Pearson 1973, 43. Bartchy 1973, 141.
[23] Long 1967, 1&2: 408.
[24] *D.L. Biog.* 5.22; 10.1.
[25] *D.L.Biog.* 3.88-89.

accompanied by the strength of Socrates.[26] Zeno suggested a similar explanation stating that those who desire philosophy must put away pleasure and bend their will. Through this control of their own will they are recognized as noble and can receive virtue with instruction.[27] In many ways both Antisthenes' and Zeno's definition of εὐγένεια is an elaboration of Plato's fourth division. Nobility is not always inherited from one's ancestors, but may be a choice to be a person of virtue.

While Aristotle's book specifically on noble birth is not extant, his other works do provide some insight into his view. In *Politics,* he draws an implicit contrast between the nobly born (εὐγένεια) and slaves (δοῦλοι). He says that it is better that those who are wealthy and possess nobility (εὐγένεια)be the ones who seek political office and rule lest the poor take office and the state consists of only slaves (δοῦλοι).[28] In other parts of *Politics* he makes it clear that he considers εὐγένεια to characterize those who come from good breeding and are possessors of wealth and virtue.[29] These requirements, consequently, would rule out the possibility of slaves being recognized as noble in an Aristotelian system.

In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle provides further insight into what he considers the basis of noble birth. By way of providing a definition he says:

> Εὐγένεια in the case of a nation or State, means that its members or inhabitants are sprung from the soil, or of long standing; that its first members were famous as leaders, and that many of their descendants have been famous for qualities that are highly esteemed.. In the case of Private individuals, εὐγένεια is derived from either the father's or mother's side, and on both sides there must be legitimacy; and, as in the case of a State, it means its founders were distinguished for virtue, wealth, or any of the other things that men honor, and that a number of famous persons, both men and women, young and old, belong to the family.[30]

In another section of *Rhetoric* he elaborates further maintaining that those who are in a position of εὐγένεια are more ambitious than others and that nobility is an inheritance from one's ancestors in conjunction with an excellence of race (γένους) that does not suffer degeneration in the family with the passage of time.[31] Absent in Aristotle is the idea that a person is noble because of personal choice to be virtuous.

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[26] *D.L.Biog.* 6.10-11.
[27] *D.L.Biog.* 7.8.
[28] *Politics* 1283a. 16;
[29] *Politics* 1283a. 34-35; 1294a. 21; 1301b. 40.
[30] *Rhetoric* 1.4.5.
[31] *Rhetoric* 2.15.1-3.

His definition is based solely on the status of aristocratic ancestors and the inherited benefits of lineage.[32]

The above definitions from antiquity suggest that εὐγένεια was defined in two ways. Most common was to view the term as representing those who could claim to have respectable and famous ancestors known for a variety of deeds and able to pass their own prestige down to their descendants. The second, and probably somewhat less popular usage, viewed the term as a philosophical badge of honor awarded to those whose lives exhibited characteristics of virtue and generosity striving to put others before themselves. Based on these definitions, it is now possible to test them against some of the relevant Jewish literature.

7.2.2 Εὐγένεια in Early Jewish literature

Returning to the case of Rotheos in *T. Naphtali*,[33] it is quite possible that the author adapted the Greek idea of εὐγένεια as a way to emphasize the importance of ones genealogy, a concept already widespread in Judaism.[34] As can be demonstrated in the case of Philo and other Jewish writers, it was not uncommon for authors to adopt Greek terminology as a matter of a convenience in order to explain Jewish ideas.[35] Similar to the Aristotelian view of εὐγένεια, *T. Naphtali* shows that Rotheos's captivity (ἀιχμάλωτος) and subsequent enslavement are inconsistent with his relationship to Abraham that defines him as being εὐγένεια.[36] In an attempt to present the children of Zilpah and Bilhah as legitimate heirs to the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob line, the notion of εὐγένεια was adapted to show that Dan, Asher, Naphtali and Gad were able to claim a famous ancestor and that to label them as slaves would have been inconsistent with their identification as nobly born. By manufacturing this connection to Abraham on both the father and the mother's side, the author guaranteed that legitimacy was a result of both parents being related to a famous ancestor and that the offspring could claim the status of εὐγένεια and not be branded the sons of slaves.

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[32] Comparable to Aristotle is the comment by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 15.31) that "it is impossible for anyone to be noble (γενναῖος) without being nobly-born (εὐγένης) at the same time, or for one who is nobly-born not to be free (ἐλεύθερος)." The statement confirms the contrasting opinions between nobly-born free persons and slaves.

[33] For a discussion about the Jewish/Christian nature of this document see above § 4.2.2.

[34] Ta-Shma 1972, 3: 380-383.

[35] Wolfson 1975, 13.

[36] I do not mean to suggest that the author has Aristotle's work specifically in mind, but only that this definition was common enough in Hellenistic society that it could have easily been adopted.

In 2 Maccabees 14.37 εὐγένεια is used to describe the Jewish martyr Razis. According to the passage, Razis had a reputation of good works and as a father of the Jews.[37] When Nicanor attempted to capture Razis, Razis decided it was better to commit suicide rather than suffer at the hand of sinners that which was contrary to his own εὐγένεια (14.42). While the language of slavery is not present in the pericope, the concept of unjust captivity is implied through Nicanor's intention to seize (συλλαβεῖν) Razis and is presented as contrary to his position as a father of the Jews and his ἰδίας εὐγενείας.

Εὐγένεια is also an important recurrent theme in *4 Maccabees*. The book's description of a courageous group of Jewish martyrs who refuse to reject Judaism in favor of Hellenism is presented in the light of Greek philosophy, which is used as a veneer to cover the basic tenets of the Jewish faith.[38] Central to the book is the phrase εὐσεβὴς λογισμός, which becomes a *Leitmotif* for firm obedience and unwavering fidelity to the Torah.[39] The occurrence of the νόμος term some forty times makes it clear that the martyrs are suffering for their obedience to the Jewish law.[40] Describing the notion of perseverance is ὑπομένειν and suggests the idea of courageous endurance in defiance of evil. Hauck has noted that meaning of ὑπομένειν is stronger than a simple idea of patience and has a more active content suggesting an "energetic resistance to hostile power with no assertion of the success of this resistance."[41] Through the terminology of reason, law and endurance, the author conveyed a message that the law should be maintained at all costs even under the threat of death.[42]

The language of nobility appears in *4 Maccabees* fourteen times and consistently in the context of maintaining obedience to the law for the sake of ancestral lineage. In 6.5 Eleazar is described as εὐγενὴς because of his refusal to obey the command to apostatise. Despite the torture and pain he endured (ὑπέμενε, 6.9), Eleazar resolved to uphold the law and appealed to the others as children of Abraham not to apostatise but to accept death nobly

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[37] καὶ σφόδρα καλῶς ἀκούων καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν πατὴρ τῶν Ιουδαίων (14.37).
[38] Gilbert 1984, 317. Paul L. Redditt argues: "Philosophy is not integrated into the martyr stories and vice versa. The 'philosophy' of 4 Maccabees receives its special character through religious coloration placing the central focus on νόμος. The Jewish Element overwhelms the genuinely Greek" (1983, 255).
[39] DeSilva, 1995, 37.
[40] Redditt 1983, 252.
[41] Hauch 1967, 4:581-82.
[42] Redditt 1983, 253.

(εὐγενῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας τελευτᾶτε, 6.17-23), which he himself does (εὐγενῶς ταῖς βασάνοις ἐναπέθανεν, 6.30).

With the death of Eleazar, the story relates how those who followed him were also considered to be εὐγένεια because of their Jewish ancestors and the endurance of torturous death on behalf of the law. In 8.4 it is obvious to those carrying out the torture that the seven youths were of noble birth (εὐγένεια). When the first son is taken to be tortured, he is described as a true son of Abraham (9.21) who nobly endured (ὑπέμεινεν εὐγενῶς, 9.22) torture and encouraged others to follow him (εὐγενῆ στρατείαν στρατεύσασθε, 9.23) for the sake of piety and in hope of gaining the same vengance upon their enemies as happened for their fathers. He is followed by the second son who possesses a noble resolve (εὐγενῆ γνώμην, 9.27) and by the third who reflects on the importance of his lineage (10.2) and by the fourth in continuation of the noble brotherhood (τὴν εὐγενῆ ἀδελφότητα, 10.3, 15b). Language of nobility is not used to describe the rest of the brothers, but before his death the seventh son declares that all had fulfilled their piety to God by dying nobly (εὐγενῶς ἀποθανόντες), a category that he himself subsequently joins. Finally, the author elaborates on the fate of the youths and its significance in chapter 13. It is claimed that the youths were not enslaved to their passions (τοῖς πάθεσι δουλωθέντες, 13.2). This freedom from enslavement enabled them to resist the pressure of apostasy and to encourage one another to hold on nobly (Εὐγενῶς καρτέρησον, 13.11) remembering their lineage (Μνήσθητε πόθεν ἐστέ) including the endurance of Isaac (ὑπέμεινεν Ισαακ) and others who exhibited great courage in fulfillment of the law.[43] All seven died, convinced that because of the circumstances causing their death, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob would receive them and their forefathers would praise them.[44]

4 *Maccabees* is similar to *T. Naphtali* and 2 Maccabees in regarding εὐγένεια as result of patriarchal lineage and as contrary to enslavement. In the first two examples physical enslavement or captivity is presented as contrary to εὐγένεια and, in some cases, death was chosen rather than sacrifice their true status.

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[43] Van Henten has noted: "By putting the martyrs in the framework of Jewish history and linking their actions with those of the Jewish forefathers from Abraham onwards, the author of 4 Maccabees presents a heroic image of the Jewish people. This people distinguishes itself from all other peoples not only in its unique religion and culture, but also by the fact that members of the people had demonstrated their uncompromising loyalty to the Jewish traditions up to the Greek era" (1997, 243).

[44] οὕτω γὰρ θανόντας ἡμᾶς Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ καὶ Ιακωβ ὑποδέξονται καὶ πάντες οἱ πατέρες ἐπαινέσουσιν (13.17).

4 Maccabees, however, is not concerned with physical enslavement, but with the type of bondage that occurs when one is mastered by passions that can lead to apostasy. Because εὐγένεια is contrary to this type of enslavement, pain and suffering may have to be endured (ὑπομένειν) if one remains obedient to the law (νόμος). In some cases, death may not only be threatened but also accepted as the ultimate way of exhibiting solidarity with the εὐγένεια of Judaism's ancestors.

Philo's approach contrasts somewhat with *T. Naphtali* and the Maccabean literature. While the latter is concerned with εὐγένεια as connected to lineage and religion, Philo's definition is closer to the philosophical badge of honor found in Plato's fourth division.[45] Philo believed that the status of εὐγένεια was founded upon the premise of wisdom and love of God and[46] that it was impossible for someone to claim noble birth while neglecting the performance of noble acts.[47] Birth, whether noble or ignoble, did not necessarily determine the status of a person. Cain, for example, is one who was born of a noble man, but did not perform deeds consistent with his lineage. Abraham, on the other hand, descended from worshippers of the stars, but removed himself to follow God and became a paradigm of nobility.[48] Although his lineage was ignoble, he proved himself a possessor of εὐγένεια through his desire to have kinship with God.[49]

Philo's opinion of what constitutes εὐγένεια is clearest, however, in his insistence that anyone who puts their trust in the noble lineage of the patriarchs but does not practice noble actions is an enemy of the Jewish nation.[50] This is the dangerous result, Philo believes, of a people who define their nobility by lineage instead of wisdom and love for God and think they have a license to commit ignoble acts.

Philo also believed that εὐγένεια was contrary to slavery. However, his approach is slightly more nuanced than that of the other literature. When Sarah offers Hagar to Abraham, she is said to be an Egyptian by birth and outwardly a slave (δούλη), but inwardly nobly born (εὐγένεια), a Hebrew by rule of life.[51] Because Philo defines εὐγένεια in light of character, conduct, and not ancestry, Hagar is able

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[45] Wolfson, *Philo of Alexandria*, Vol. 2, 221.
[46] *Drunkenness*, 58.3; *Sobriety*, 56.3; *Congr.*, 56.5.
[47] *Spec. Laws*, 4.181-182; *Virtues*, 190, 195, 200.
[48] *Virtues*, 203, 206.
[49] *Virtues*, 218-219.
[50] *Virtues*, 226
[51] *Abraham*, 251.2.

to join the noble lineage of Abraham. Her adherence to the Jewish law made her noble, thus, making nobility a reflection of inward character and not outward status. In Philo's world, εὐγένεια was only a contradiction to the inward soulish type of enslavement rather than the physical kind. Anyone could be a δοῦλος and still possess εὐγένεια without contradiction.[52]

7.2.3 Summary

Pearson and Bartchy were correct in their assessment of εὐγένεια as a technical term in Hellenistic Judaism. By adopting the notion of εὐγένεια, authors were able to present the concept of noble lineage and solidarity with the ancestors of Judaism in philosophical terms. Crucial was the ability of every Jew to claim descent from famous patriarchs and to continue the fame of these ancestors by upholding the law of Judaism. Because Jews were able to identify with this famous lineage, slavery, either of the body or the soul, was deemed incompatible with their status as a noble people. When presented with the possibility of enslavement two responses were possible. The martyr option counseled that those threatened with enslavement should refuse to submit even to the point of death. The philosophical option counseled that physical enslavement could be endured because nobility was not a matter of lineage, but of good works and internal qualities. One could be outwardly enslaved, but inwardly free and noble. In both cases, enslavement of either the body or the soul was perceived as contrary to the true status of a person of nobility.

7.3 Imitation as a Form of Solidarity with Judaism's Ancestors

Associated with the idea of εὐγένεια was a belief that one could imitate their ancestors as a form of obedience and solidarity with Judaism. The idea in antiquity that teachers and famous people were examples to be imitated is well documented in Greek and Latin writers.[53] Imitation as a form of obedience is commonly recognized as an aspect of Plato's construction of the *Mimesis* whereby obedience is fostered through the following of a model set by the deity.[54] Werner Michaelis, however, has noted that when used in a more cosmological scheme, the idea of obedience through imitation is less prominent because it is more of an existing disposition towards the

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[52] This is similar to the idea examined earlier in Philo that it is possible for someone to be a slave physically, but to inwardly be a slave of God (see above § 6.3.2).
[53] Plutarch, *Moralia* 40b μιμητέον; Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 1.9 παράδειγμα; Seneca, *Letters* 6.5-6; 11.9-10 *exempla*; Pliny, *Letters* 8.13 *exempla*.
[54] Wilkens 1992, 3:392.

deity rather than an obedient following of a model.[55] Conversely, one may suggest that when *mimesis* takes place outside of the purely cosmological realm, the idea of imitation as obedience may be more prominent. In Judaism, the notion certainly has a cosmological basis and ramifications, but it is usually presented as a way that Jews may fulfill their obligation to God through the imitation of other Jews, specifically their ancestors.

The concept of imitating God or others is not found in the Hebrew Bible, but is present in some early Jewish literature.[56] In Sirach 44-50, a list is presented to the reader of famous individuals from Israelite history distinguished for their actions, both positive and negative. Leading the list is Enoch who is said to be an example (ὑπόδειγμα) of repentance to all generations (44.16).[57] Following him is a list of individuals accompanied by their actions that are meant to serve as model of what should, or in some cases should not, be done.[58]

Twice in 4 *Maccabees* those who are being tortured are encouraged to imitate one another (Μιμήσασθέ με, ἀδελφοί, 9.23) and their ancestors (μιμησώμεθα, 13.9) as they endure until the point of death. Important here is the association that *mimesis* has with upholding the ancestral law in accordance with a noble fight (εὐγενῆ στρατείαν, 9.24) and the presentation of ancestors as models of obedience (Εὐγενῶς καρτέρησον, 13.12).

In *T. Asher* 4.3-5, the works of one who sins are considered to be good when he imitates the Lord (μιμεῖται κύριον) by obeying God's commandments and abstaining from those things which the Lord hates. *T. Benjamin* 4.1 encourages the reader to imitate the good man (ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς μιμήσασθε) who demonstrates his relationship with God by always putting others before himself.[59]

Josephus associates *mimesis* with ancestry when describing how the Judean King Asa was noticed by others to have imitated his great-grandfather David in courage, piety and great deeds (μιμητὴν δαυιδου, *Ant.* 8.315).[60] In *Against Apion*

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[55] Michaelis 1967, 4: 661.
[56] Ibid., 663-64.
[57] Schlier notes that is used with the intended purpose of presenting a model or example to be followed by others (1964, 2:32-33).
[58] While the terminology of imitation is not present through the rest of the list, the introduction to the section suggests that the author intended to present models of behavior to be followed.
[59] Although *T. Asher* and *T. Benjamin* could be of Christian origin, the concept of imitation is not restricted to Christianity.
[60] Important here is that imitation is used in connection to honorable qualities that are noticed by men which is part of the criteria of εὐγένεια established by Aristotle.

2.204, Josephus says that Jews are taught the laws and deeds of their forefathers so that they might imitate them (their fathers) and not transgress the laws (ἵνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι). In another place Josephus shows how the imitation of Greek practices (ἐμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν ἔργα) by some Jews represented a rejection of their own customs (*Ant.* 12.241). This occurrence is revealing because it uses the concept inversely by making *mimesis* the rejection of Judaism rather than obedience to it.

Philo's concept of *mimesis* is strongly influenced by the Platonic view that the heavenly and earthly worlds correspond to one another.[61] There is, however, also some correspondence of usage with other Jewish literature of the period. Philo says that humanity, as a part of creation, is intended to imitate God, which represents fitting into God's plan and following God's commands (*Creation*, 79).[62] By imitating God, one should perform deeds that are good and honor God as an act of obedience (*Sacrifices*. 65-69) and impart qualities of wisdom and justice to one's neighbors (μιμεῖσθαι Θεὸν, *Virtues*, 168).[63] In addition to God individuals, like Moses, may also be imitated (*Moses 1*, 1.158; *Spec. Laws*, 4.173). Conversely, the figure of Lot is offered as an example of failure to imitate the good person (i.e. Abraham); his actions resulted in a relapse and his soul was carried off by its enemies (*Migration*, 149). Of particular significance to the current examination, however, is Philo's direct association of εὐγένεια with μιμητής.

In *Special laws* 4.179-82, Philo states that when contrasted with other nations, the position of the Jewish race ('Ιουδαίων ἔθνος, 179) is comparable to that of an orphan by virtue of the unusual and exceptional laws they must obey. Nevertheless, this status results from being chosen by God as a type of first fruits for the whole universe. The choice of the Jews was in response to the founders of the race (αἱ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ ἔθνους, 181) who exhibited signs of righteousness that they were able to pass on to their descendants (τοῖς ἀπογόνοις, 181) in spite of the fact that they may be sinners. These descendants should not, however, allow their good lineage (εὐγένεια) to delude them into thinking that they themselves could avoid performing good works. Those who fail to do this are guilty of not imitating the

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[61] Michaelis 1967, 664.
[62] Ibid., 665.
[63] There are other instances where Philo says that God should be imitated *Decalogue*, 111; *Alleg. Interp.*, 1.48; *Spec. Laws*, 4.73. At one point we are told that the logos imitates the Father (*Confusion*, 63).

noble models set before them (i.e. their ancestors) and reproduce nothing that leads towards a healthy life.[64] In Philo's opinion, those who are part of the noble lineage of Judaism are bound to imitate the patriarchs and others as a sign of solidarity with the race and as a way of reconfirming the obedient acts that prompted God to choose them in the first place. To claim the status of εὐγένεια was to accept an implicit demand of imitation.

The above survey indicates that Jews were sometimes encouraged to imitate God, but more often they were exhorted to imitate the patriarchs and others who served as examples of how to obey God and uphold the customs of the Jewish race. Imitation was a form of obedience. It was a way of declaring solidarity with Judaism and of identifying with the righteous acts and εὐγένεια of those who lived earlier in history. If someone wanted to identify with the patriarchs, they could do so by imitating their actions.

Before proceeding, it may be helpful to synthesize what has been covered thus far. Because it was important to some interpreters that all Jews were able to show legitimate kinship through the pure lineage of the patriarchs, hints of ancestry from slaves were expunged and sometimes replaced with claims of noble birth. Noble birth represented a status of kinship opposed to the status of enslavement and required obedience to the law and solidarity with ancestors even under the threat of death. Those who wanted to identify with their ancestors and exhibit solidarity with the tenets of Judaism could do so through acts that imitated the patriarchs and upheld the continuance of the religion. At this point, it is possible to examine the post-biblical figure of Joseph who served as an illustration of all these characteristics.

7.4 Joseph as a Paradigmatic Enslaved Figure in Early Judaism

Joseph is commonly recognized as a prototype of the undeserved enslavement of an individual.[65] He is also representative of either a community or individual living in a Diaspora situation in which adherents to Judaism are tempted to compromise their allegiance to God, neglect the law, and forget their membership in the community of God's people.[66] It was demonstrated above that Judith, *T. 12 Patr.*, and Josephus each addressed the question of how one should respond to a situation of unjust captivity or enslavement. In conjunction with the problem of how to respond

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[64] παραδείγματα καλοκαγαθίας ἃ μιμήσεται (*Special Laws* 182)
[65] Garnsey 1996, 163.
[66] Harrelson 1975, 32.

to unjust enslavement, Joseph was presented in *T. Joseph* as a paradigm of how to respond through the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation*. The following analysis demonstrates that the themes of nobility, obedient endurance and example to be imitated were used in some interpretations of the Joseph story in Genesis. These themes are best observed in a comparison of Joseph material contained in the *T. Joseph*, the works of Josephus[67] and Philo.[68]

7.4.1 Joseph's Noble Birth

As demonstrated above, it was the understanding of some authors that the claim of εὐγένεια made enslavement contrary to the lineage and status of the Jewish race. This is also the case with Joseph. In *T. Joseph* (14.3-4), the Egyptian woman's pretext for having Joseph released is that captivity is contrary to his status of nobility and that he should be attended by slaves rather than sold as a slave:

> "Why do you detain the young man who, though a captive (ἀιχμάλωτον), is nobly born (εὐγενῆ)? Rather he should be set free and attended by servants."

The Ishmaelite traders also note his incompatible status as a slave in 15.2 and are apprehensive about keeping him because although he has told them he is a slave, they are aware that he is actually the son of a great man:

> "Why did you tell us you were a slave (εἴπας σεαυτὸν δοῦλον εἶναι)? Behold we know that you are the son of a great man in Canaan (υἱὸς εἶ ανδρὸς μεγάλου ἐν γῆ Χανάαν)."

In Josephus Jacob is said to have recognized Joseph's nobility (εὐγένεια) and that he possessed both virtue and understanding (*Ant.* 1.9). When the formerly imprisoned butler describes Joseph to Pharaoh, he contrasts the situation of enslavement with Joseph's true birth status in a famous family:

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[67] While not within the scope of this thesis it is significant that several scholars have recognized that Josephus appears to have constructed some of his material in such a way as to compare himself with the OT figure of Joseph. His abilities to interpret dreams and his position as advisor to a king are only two of the several important and fascinating comparisons that can be discovered about the way that Josephus presents himself to his readers. See Daube 1980, 27; Niehoff 1992, 90-93; Feldman 1998, 335, 372.

[68] Philo's various presentations of Joseph are both positive and negative. For instance, *Alleg. Interp.*, 3.179; *Cherubim*, 126; *Her.* 256; *Unchangeable*, 120; *Names*, 89; *Confusion*, 7; and *Dreams*, 2.11 all portray Joseph as either exhibiting bad character or some other defect that makes him a negative example. Philo's *Joseph*, however, is a much more positive portrayal and presents material similar to that found in the *T. Joseph* and Josephus. Therefore, comparison will be made from this section only because it is dedicated specifically to the life of Joseph and is not merely an illustration or side comment as is the case with the other references. (See Harrington 1975, 129).

> . . . as a slave (ὡς δοῦλον), but that according to his own account, he ranked, alike by birth and by his father's fame (πατρὸς δόξῃ) among the foremost of the Hebrews (*Ant.* 2.78).

Although the specific terminology of nobility is not present in *Ant* 2.78 or in *T. Joseph* 15.2, the notion of Joseph's kinship in a famous family and a famous father is equal to being nobly born as understood by Aristotle's definition of noble birth.

Philo also describes Jacob as noticing that Joseph was noble and for this reason afforded Joseph more love and respect than he did his other sons (*Joseph*, 4). Joseph's status was not only incompatible with the situation of enslavement, but it also enabled him to rise above those around him because those with whom he came in contact noticed his nobility. In his position in the Egyptian's house (*Joseph* 37):

> . . . with the Eunuch as his master, he gave proof in a few days of his nobility (εὐγένειας) of character and nature, and therefore received authority over his fellow slaves (ὁμοδούλοις ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει) .

as he stood before the Pharaoh (*Joseph* 106):

> The King judged him by his appearance to be a man of free and noble birth (ἄνδρα ἐλεύθερον καί εὐγενῆ).

without ever revealing his real status to anyone regardless of his position or prestige (*Joseph* 248):

> He did not claim anything concerning his noble birth (περὶ τῆς ἰδίας εὐγένείας) or that he was not a slave by nature (οὐ φύσει δοῦλος).

All three authors established Joseph as one who was able to claim εὐγένεια based upon his famous father and suggested that this status was contrary to his enslavement. It is noteworthy that Joseph was never made to claim this status for himself. Rather it is more effective that Joseph's high birth is acknowledged by not just his father, but by the Egyptians who seem to be able to appreciate the incongruity of his situation.[69] Joseph's status as noble is not a matter of what he says, but how he acts and presents himself before others.

7.4.2 Joseph's Silent Endurance and Self-Humiliation

A recurring motif noted in *4 Maccabees* was the association of endurance (ὑπομένειν) with εὐγένεια as a way to show solidarity with Judaism and the patriarchs. Similarly, the Joseph story provided interpreters with an ideal example of

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[69] Feldman 1998, 344.

how those who are unjustly enslaved should persevere. In addition to Joseph's endurance of various trials, qualities of silence and humility can also be added.[70]

T. Joseph says that Joseph had to endure much suffering (μακροθυμία . . . ἡ ὑπομονή 2.7) supported through prayer, fasting, and the endurance of a humble heart (ὑπομονῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει καρδίας 10.1-2). This in turn led to his silence and a refusal to appeal to his family status (10.6):

> "When my brothers sold me I remained silent (ἐσιώπων) rather than tell the Ishmaelites that I am the son of Jacob a great and powerful man (υἱός ἐιμί Ἰακώβ, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου καὶ δυνατοῦ)."

and claiming for himself the status of a slave,

> 11.2 – κἀγώ εἶπον ὅτι δοῦλος αὐτων εἰμί ἐξ οἰκου
> And I said that I am a slave from their household
>
> 11.3 - ἐγὼ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι δοῦλος αὐτῶν εἰμί
> But I said I am their slave
>
> 13.6 – εἶπέ μοι δοῦλος εἶ ἢ ἐλευθερος; και εἶπον δοῦλος
> He said to me, are you a slave or free person? And I said a slave
>
> 15.3 - εἶπα ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα δοῦλος εἰμι
> I said I know nothing; I am a slave.

In all this, Joseph endeavored not to reveal his brothers' evil actions but instead endured his situation so that they would not be disgraced (ὑπέμεινα ἵνα μὴ καταισχύνω τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου 17.1; also 10.6).

According to *Genesis* 42.21, Joseph is said to have pleaded with his brothers for his life. Josephus, nonetheless, carefully omits this detail and presents his Joseph as a type of Stoic hero who submits silently to unjust suffering regardless of the severest of punishments (*Ant.* 2.107).[71] This is emphasized by Joseph's willingness to endure anything rather than become obedient to the Egyptian woman (αὐτός τε πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖν ἔλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπειθὴς ἔσεσθαι, *Ant.* 2.43).

Philo offered a similar idea, but without the specific terminology.[72] In *Joseph* (246-50), he claims that Joseph never denounced his brothers for selling him, that he

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[70] Hollander 1981, 29-30.
[71] Feldman 1998, 351.
[72] Harrington 1975, 130.

acted as if he knew nothing of his past[73] and refused to use his status of εὐγένεια to gain either his freedom or advancement.

Each portrait of Joseph served as an example of how to endure difficult times. Silence and self-humiliation are presented as characteristics commended during times of suffering. The objective is to endure the trial without becoming entangled by it and without attempting to gain relief by accusing others.

7.4.3 Joseph's Obedience in the Face of Death

In Genesis 39.8-9, Joseph's avoidance of adultery is due to his desire not to betray the trust of his master after being awarded with a great amount of responsibility. In the post-biblical literature, however, his refusal is portrayed as an avoidance of sin and a desire to remain obedient to God. Coupled with Joseph's example of obedience is his exhortation to others to also obey. *T. Joseph* shows that not only did he resist the advance of the Egyptian woman based on a desire for a pure heart, but Joseph also beseeched her to fear and obey God (3-4; 4.6; 5.2). In Josephus, the refusal to commit adultery is a result of Joseph's desire to be free of sin and guilt and to retain a good conscience before God. Here also Joseph encourages the woman to turn away from her passions (*Ant.* 2.43, 50-53). According to Philo Joseph delivers a speech that reflects upon the ancestral customs and laws that forbid adultery and other forms of sexual sin, but does not attempt to convert her to obedience with him (*Joseph*, 40-48). All three authors are consistent in their attempt to show that Joseph is a model of obedience in a difficult situation.

Another addition not found in the Genesis account is the threats of death made to Joseph if he did not comply with the Egyptian woman's wishes. This is consistent with the pervasive theme in *4 Maccabees* in which martyrs were induced to apostatize under the threat of death (5.15ff).[74] In *T. Joseph* the woman threatens death against Joseph (3.1), against her husband (5.5), and against herself (7.3), all of which fail to convince Joseph to divert from his course of obedience. Philo introduces a similar theme in an allegory which represents Joseph as a politician and the woman as the multitudes whose demands are to be resisted even under the threat of death (64-68). Josephus does not introduce death threats into the story of Joseph.

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[73] Compare this with the similar statement of disregard for the past in *T. Jos.*15.3: εἶπα ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα δοῦλός εἰμι.
[74] Hollander 1981, 36.

7.4.5 Joseph as an Example to be Imitated

As a paradigmatic figure, one would expect that the commands to imitate Joseph would have been numerous, but in fact, there are no direct exhortations of imitation in any of the Joseph material examined. It may be argued, however, that although technical language is lacking, the notion is implicitly present. Certainly all of the Joseph material examined above was written with the intention of informing readers of the correct way to relate to God and the law. The lack of technical language does not preclude the reader from imitating the example of Joseph, as would also be the case with Abraham, Moses, David, and others. Furthermore, if the investigation moves outside of the narrow confines of the Joseph material, it is discovered that he is an object of imitation.

The farewell discourse of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees 2.51-61 may contain such an allusion of imitation. Here Joseph is listed among some of the great men of Israel who are praised for their obedience to God and display of good character. That the list is intended to promote imitation is evidenced by two factors. First, the introductory statement of Mattathias' discourse is an exhortation to remember the deeds of those in the list and how they received great honors:

> μνήσθητε τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατέρων, ἃ ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ δέξασθε δόξαν μεγάλην καὶ ὄνομα αἰώνιον.(v.51).[75]
>
> Remember the acts of the fathers, which they did in their generation, and you shall receive great glory and an everlasting name.

The statement concluding the list exhorts the reader to continue in the same deeds as those before them and to put their trust in God

> καὶ οὕτως ἐννοήθητε κατὰ γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀσθενήσουσιν. (v.61).
>
> And thus consider them from age to age, because all those who hope in him shall not be overcome.

A second factor is that Joseph is listed between Abraham and Phinehas (2.52-53), but there is no mention of Isaac, Jacob, Moses and numerous others that one would expect if this were simply a hall of fame list. Instead, the list highlights those individuals that warranted a special memory in light of their deeds and the subsequent

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[75] The idea of remembering the patriarchs as an example is also found in *4 Maccabees* 13.11- Μνήσθητε πόθεν ἐστε.

glory given to them.[76] Consequently, Joseph's presence on the list suggests that his deeds are to be part of a special memory to be replicated from generation to generation in a way that could easily be described as a process of imitation.

A direct exhortation to imitate Joseph does occur in *T. Benjamin* (3.1-5; 4.1). This *Testament*, unlike others in the *T. 12 Patr.* corpus, has less to say about the person for whom it is named and more about Joseph. Hollander has connected the figure of Joseph with the repeated phrase in *T. Benjamin* "the good man" as the Jewish ideal of the performance of the law. The good man loves God and keeps his commandments; Joseph is the good man *par excellence*.[77]

In 3.1-5, the reader is exhorted to love God, keep his commandments and imitate the good man Joseph by loving God and one's neighbors and resisting Beliar (μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα Ἰωσήφ). In 4.1 the reader is told a second time to imitate the good man and the exhortation to imitate is coupled with a promise of later glory.[78]

In 5.5, the reader is told how it is that the good man responds to unjust suffering. If he is abused he remains silent and shows mercy, if he is betrayed he prays, and though he may for a brief time be humbled, he will, like Joseph, be made more illustrious than before:

> For a brief time he may be humbled (πρὸς ὀλίγον ταπεινωθῇ), but after not much time he will beam with joy, such as happened with Joseph, my brother (Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀδελφός μου).

Recurrent here in 5.5 and in 4.1 is an opinion also found in Mattathias's discourse and in *T. Levi* 13.9. Joseph's response to his unjust suffering/enslavement brought him exaltation at a later time. In this context, readers were certainly intended to understand that by imitating Joseph's obedience during a period of humiliation and unjust suffering that they too will be exalted over the situation and their enemies. Consequently, Joseph, as a paradigmatic enslaved figure, represents the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.*

7.4.6 Summary

There were traditions that portrayed Joseph as a prototype of those who were unjustly enslaved and coerced to disobey God. That the facets of the tradition are not

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[76] Joseph is also the recipient of "perpetual" glory in *Wisdom* 10.13-14.
[77] Hollander 1981, 66-67.
[78] Although Joseph's name is not present, the surrounding context of chapters 3 and 5 makes it clear that he is the object of the command (Hollander 1981, 70).

always identical in either content or emphasis is an indication that the tradition was not fixed but frequently changed according to the authors' perspective. Common elements can be identified, however, as the basis for the tradition. Joseph was a paradigm for how those unjustly enslaved and abused should respond to their circumstances. By imitating Joseph, they too could one day be exalted over their situation if they humbled themselves and remain obedient to God while enduring a difficult trial.

7.5 Conclusion

It is immediately obvious that the notion of slavery to God is not present in any of the material examined. This does not mean, however, that the material does not relate to the theme. Indeed, much of the literature considered here has already been shown to contain references or allusions to the theme in previous chapters. In any case, the Jewish sources from the Second Temple period do show that slavery in any form other than in religious service to God was often regarded as unacceptable. Just as Josephus' presentation of the zealots made slavery to Rome incompatible with slavery to God, slavery in the Jewish lineage was contrary to how Jews identified themselves as the people of God. It was important that this relationship was based upon the continuing obedience to God's law throughout the generations.

It is also obvious that the title 'slave of God' was not used in conjunction with the figure of Joseph. This may be explained in two ways. First, while Joseph is never given the title in the extant literature, it is not impossible to conclude that he was thought to be part of the same famous lineage of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David and many others who did receive the title. Similar to these other famous 'slaves of God', Joseph exhibits a close relationship with God based upon his obedience and is in turn reciprocated by rewards of leadership and honor. Second, Joseph's position in the literature did not portray him as a prototype of the slave of God theme; rather he was an example of how the slave of God should respond when unjustifiably enslaved. Joseph was a paradigm of self-humiliation and enduring obedience followed by the promise of future exaltation. His life was regarded as an example to be imitated, and those Jews who found that they identified with the circumstances of Joseph were encouraged to imitate him in hope of receiving the same reward.

For a people who identified themselves as the slaves of God, the question of how to reconcile that claim with episodes of slavery in their history frequently arose.

This motivated some authors to find creative interpretations to address what appeared to be problematic incongruities of status. Some discovered the answer through the adoption of εὐγένεια as a response to slavery coupled with the portrayal of Joseph as the prototype of unjustified enslavement. Noble Jewish ancestry was interpreted as a contradiction to the situation of enslavement and provided a way of responding to those situations when Jews found themselves unjustifiably enslaved.

Chapter 8

Summary/Synthesis of Part One

Early Jewish literature extant in Greek used a variety of terms to describe the notion of slavery. The terms were regarded, for the most part, as synonyms by those authors who used them interchangeably and according to their respective preference. More important than the terms themselves, however, was the way they functioned. The language could describe individuals who were part of the institution of slavery as well as a variety of other relationships. The language operated separately from the images of institutional slavery and was used as a convenient way to describe situations and relationships in which subordinates showed obedience to an authority figure, whether voluntarily or by force. This authority could be divine (God), human (masters, kings, prophets) or psychological (sinful passions). The nature of such relationships in the context of slavery terminology revolved around the basic premise of subordination and obedience as found in slavery. Anyone could be the slave of someone or something.

It is within this framework that Jews could identify themselves as the slaves of God. The source of this identification was the traditions surrounding the Exodus event. The people of Israel were released from slavery in Egypt so that they could become enslaved to God. The slave/master relationship between Israel and God was based on the twin axioms of covenant fidelity and the practice of monolatry. These axioms required that as God's slaves Israel could only serve and obey God. Significant for Israel's status as God's slaves was the function of the royal ideology. The king of Israel was intended to be the embodiment of slavery to God and to lead his own slaves in obedience and worship of God. By acting as loyal slaves of the Israelite king and imitating his example, the people were also fulfilling their obligations as loyal slaves of God. If the king and the people failed to meet these requirements, both were returned to a position of enslavement under a foreign oppressor. If they repented and demonstrated obedience towards God, they were restored to their former position as God's slaves and freed from their slavery under their foreign oppressors. This implied that the slave of God title was an emblem that contained within it the axioms of Israelite religion and the lessons of history. To

identify oneself as a slave of God was to make a statement of both religious and national significance.

Episodes of foreign oppression in the post-exilic period fostered an interpretive response that attempted to reconcile the identification of Jews as God's slaves with incidents of physical slavery. Most of the authors examined above interpreted slavery as punishment for continued disobedience towards God (Philo to a lesser degree). The response to these situations was to portray Israel's liberation and return from slavery as a second Exodus framed in the pattern of *Sin-Exile-Return* (1 Baruch, *Par Jer.*). Readers of this literature were instructed to accept slavery as the justified consequences of disobedience with the ultimate assurance that God would eventually lead the people out of slavery and back to the promised land. Some like the authors of Judith concluded that when Jews were not guilty of disobedience slavery was unjustified. The response of this interpretation was framed in the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* Jews were instructed to remain obedient in their humbling circumstances with the ultimate assurance that God would exalt them over their enemies. Instances of unjustified slavery were perceived as an opportunity to emphasize the importance of obedience and dependence on God.

These two interpretations of slavery sometimes led to a conflict between their various adherents. Some, like the Zealots, concluded that their position as God's slaves made slavery to Rome incompatible with their ideological claims. This interpretation led to a response of armed resistance and a preference for death over enslavement to anyone other than God. Others, like Josephus and Philo, regarded episodes of physical enslavement as having no consequence to the Jews' position as the slaves of God. Rather than resist slavery, they found therein an opportunity to exhibit their commitment to God as slaves. Both of these groups were committed to the notion of slave-like obedience to God. But they disagreed sharply on whether it could be achieved while physically enslaved.

Another way of responding to the experience of enslavement was through acts of imitation. Jews could imitate the obedient acts of their ancestors as a way of identifying with the noble lineage of Judaism (e.g. Sirach 44-50; 4 Macc 9.23; 13.9; Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.204; Philo, *Special laws* 4.179-82). By remaining obedient they demonstrated that they were not enslaved to vices and sinful passions. Similar to the Zealots, they preferred death rather than disobedience to God. In circumstances of

unjustified slavery, individuals could respond through the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* Representative of this pattern was the figure of Joseph whose response to slavery became a paradigm and source of imitation for others.

In addition to these various interpretations and responses to slavery a change of emphasis occurred with respect to how someone was identified as a slave of God. The original criteria for being a slave of God were covenant fidelity and monolatry. Some, like Josephus, Philo and *T. 12. Patr.* replaced the requirement of covenant fidelity with obedience to the universal laws of God's creation. This introduction of God's law as universal reflected an intensification of the practice of monolatry. God was more than the only object of worship; God was creator and therefore the universal authority over all creation and without equal.

This new emphasis shifted the focus away from the laws that marked out the exclusive relationship between God and the Jews. Moreover, it caused the insider/outsider ideology underlying the notion of slavery to God to be diminished and broadened simultaneously. On the one hand, it *diminished* the Jewish claim as *insiders* who could identify themselves as the exclusive slaves of God. On the other hand, it *broadened* the category of *insiders* by including any *outsider* who recognized the authority of God by responding through obedience. Slavery was regarded as the inevitable plight for all humanity. Individuals were not given a choice between slavery and freedom but between to whom or to what they would be enslaved. Just as Israel does not possess the right of self-determination neither does humanity. True freedom was not considered a matter of independence but of being the obedient to God whether or not one was physically enslaved. Rather than emphasize the unique identity of Jews, obedience to God focused on the opportunity for all of humanity, not just Jews, to become the slaves of God.

Part Two

Slave of Christ in Pauline Literature

Chapter 9

Introduction to the Pauline Literature

Until now the task has been to identify how language of enslavement was used in early Jewish literature and how that language helped to shape the various aspects of the tradition by which Jews came to identify themselves as the slaves of God. The impetus for this task was to discover what, if any, aspects of this tradition could be found in Paul's use of slavery language and, in particular, what he meant by his own self-identification as a slave of Christ. But it bears emphasizing at the outset of the present section that all that has preceded is not merely a 'background' whereby Paul is to be seen as representing the apex of a developing tradition. Quite the opposite. All that has preceded is the 'foreground' with which Paul, a Jew influenced by the Christ event, may be presumed to have interacted. By recognizing this significant difference, we shall attempt to heed E.P. Sanders' warning. Sanders has insightfully pointed out that the problem with motif studies in NT scholarship is that in an attempt to discover the origin of a motif, the two religions, Judaism and Christianity, are often not treated in the same way. Similar to an analogy of two buildings, one could knock down one building and build another with the same bricks and still have a different building. A religion is not a sum of its parts; "one must consider function and context before coming to an over all conclusion as to similarity and dissimilarity."[1] However, it is not incorrect to examine this 'new building' and determine in what ways the 'bricks' of Judaism may function in a similar way when adapted into (Pauline) Christianity. The various Jewish works examined thus far all demonstrate similarities and dissimilarities with one another in the way that the tradition of enslavement to God was understood to function. For instance, by observing the differences of function and context between Josephus and Philo, it is not necessary to conclude that each author represents the construction of a 'new building'. On the contrary, it is a variegated presentation of the same building from a different perspective as necessitated by a different context. What appears to be a dissimilarity in a motif's function is actually the result of how the author has employed a common tradition in response to a new or at least different situation. As a first century Jew, Paul may also be examined by identifying similar and dissimilar characteristics and patterns that

indicate how he perceived a relationship to God as described through the language of slavery. Unlike Sanders' contrast between Judaism and Christianity, it is not necessary to conclude at the outset that what Paul has done is to create a 'new building.' What follows is an attempt to examine how Paul may have reused some of the 'bricks' from his Jewish heritage.

9.1 Methodology

Before proceeding, a note concerning methodology is appropriate with respect to those epistles in which Pauline authorship is disputed. Without entering into the larger and more complicated question surrounding Pauline authorship, the disputed epistles (Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, Colossians) and the Pastoral epistles (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy and Titus) may be excluded based simply upon their lack of a substantive contribution to an investigation of metaphorical slavery terms in Paul. All of these epistles use slavery terms predominantly in the context of institutional slavery.[2] There are five examples of metaphorical usage in the disputed epistles all of which can be sufficiently explained through cross-references to similar occurrences in the non-disputed epistles.[3] Instances of baptismal formulas in these epistles also do not contribute to a discussion of metaphorical slavery (Col 3.11). By contrast the undisputed epistles, apart from the so-called baptismal formulas (1 Cor12.13; Gal 3.28) and a reference in 1 Corinthians 7.21, have little to say about institutional slavery as such.[4]

A note should also be made concerning procedure. In keeping with the investigation of the Jewish literature, Paul's slavery language is first examined broadly in order to determine preferences, variety of usage and extent to which this usage may or may not be compared with the materials covered in Part One. This is followed by an examination of four Pauline epistles: Philippians, Galatians, Romans and 1 Corinthians. Although the aim of this study is to discover what Paul meant when he identified himself as a slave of Christ, instances in these four epistles where this title is used as a self-designation by Paul will be examined last. Paul's use of slavery language in the broader context of each epistle will be considered first. As

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[1] Sanders 1977, 13.
[2] Eph 6.5-8 (4x); Col 3.22, 24; 4.1; 1 Tim 6.1-2 (2x); 3.6; Titus 2.9.
[3] Slavery terms are used metaphorically in Colossians 1.7; 2 Timothy 2.4; and Titus 1.1, 2.3, 3.3.
[4] Also included in this list maybe the letter to Philemon. While written on behalf of a slave, the epistle is not a treatise on slavery and is limited in what it reveals about Paul's opinion towards the institutional practice of slavery and does not contributes to our understanding of metaphorical slavery.

noted in the introduction, the goal of Part Two is to provide an informative framework for Paul's application of slavery terms and to suggest how that framework may have influenced his own self-understanding as a slave of Christ. Thus, once it has been ascertained what Paul was trying to communicate to his readers through slavery language, his claim to be Christ's slave will be examined. The advantage of this approach is that it prevents the creation of an implicit dichotomy between what Paul claimed about himself and what he meant when he used the language in association with others.

9.2 Slavery Terminology in the Pauline Correspondences

Slavery terms occur forty eight times in the Pauline corpus. Of this total forty instances are represented by the δοῦλος word group followed by five occurrences of παιδίσκη,[5] two occurrences of αἰχμάλωτος,[6] and one each from the οἰκέτης and ὑπηρέτης word groups. There are no occurrences from the ἀνδράποδον[7] or θεράπων word groups, both of which were represented to varying degrees in the early Jewish literature. Unlike the early Jewish literature, however, there is no evidence that suggests Paul regarded these terms as synonyms. There is no apparent mixing of terminology within passages and, in general, Paul's preference is for δοῦλος. Paul is very consistent and in those instances in which he used a term other than δοῦλος it seems that he had a specific purpose in mind and did not intend to convey an impression of terminological synonymity.

With respect to the function of slavery metaphors, Paul is both similar and dissimilar to his contemporaries. The notion of slavery to God observed in Part One is present in Paul, but is somewhat overshadowed by his preoccupation with enslavement to Christ.[8] Slavery to vices and sin is also referred to, but then so is slavery to righteousness and the law. Some of these concepts find resonance with Philo including the idea of creation in a position of enslavement (Rom 8.21).[9] Noticeably absent, though, is any indication that Paul regarded slavery as a form of punishment for sin and disobedience.

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[5] All five of these appear in Galatians 4.22-31 as part of Paul's allegory of the handmaids.
[6] There are also occurrences in Ephesians 4.8, which is part of a quote from Psalm 67.19 (LXX), and 2 Timothy 3.6.
[7] Although the cognate, ἀνδραποδιστής is found in 1 Timothy 1.10.
[8] Rom 1.1;, 6.22; 12.11; 14.18; 16.18; 1 Cor 4.1;, 7.22; Gal 1.10; Phil 1.1; 1 Thess 1.9.
[9] See above § 6.1.3.

9.3 Paul's Use of διάκονος

A few comments are necessary in relation to the διάκονος terminology in Paul. In Part One, apart from two very specific and unique usages in Josephus that describe his obedience as God's messenger, διάκονος played no role in the development of the Jewish understanding of slavery.[10] By contrast, in the Pauline corpus διάκονος and its cognates occur thirty three times with twenty instances in 2 Corinthians alone. Many of the occurrences are used to refer to 'service' as a gift that takes place in the context of the community of believers (Rom 12.7, 15.25; 1Cor 12.5), in the more general sense of providing care for one another (2 Cor 9.1, 2-13), and as a discharging of service in love, as did the house of Stephanas (εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις 1 Cor 16.15). Paul also uses the term to describe his personal ministry and that of other leaders to the churches, (Rom 11.13; 16.1; 1 Cor 3.5; 2 Cor 3.6; 4.1; 6.4; 11.23; Phil 1.1) and the offering being collected for Jerusalem (2 Cor 8.4, 20; 9.1-2). The term is associated with Christ twice. In Romans 15.8 Christ is said to have become a servant of the circumcision (γὰρ Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς) and in Galatians 2.17, in a rhetorical question, Paul asks whether Christ is the servant of sin (ἆρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος μὴ γένοιτο).

Absent in all of the Pauline references is the use of διάκονος to describe service in the context of obedience, as found in Josephus.[11] Instead the emphasis is placed on preaching and teaching in the church or on charitable service to one another. This is especially true in 2 Corinthians where the term predominates because of Paul's extended discussion about the Jerusalem offering.[12] Therefore, in the context of Paul's usage it seems best to translate the term as a 'ministry to the community' or as 'one who promotes actions' rather than as an expression that denotes a restricted and obligatory slave-type service. Even in the case of the term's relation to Christ, it is better to regard Christ as a 'promoter' of the truth of God to the circumcision in Romans and as one who is not a 'promoter' of sin in Galatians.[13]

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[10] See above § 2.5.
[11] See above § 2.5 and 5.2.2.
[12] Hurtado 1985,122 n. 36.
[13] Dunn has suggested that the occurrence of διάκονος in Galatians 2.17 may be an allusion to the table fellowship (the center of the dispute at Antioch) and that by using the term in conjunction with Christ Paul is asking whether the bringing of Jews and Gentiles to the same table is a sin and this makes Christ the 'minister' of sin (1993, 141). This interpretation has also been followed by Hays (2000, 241).

There is no evidence to suggest that Paul viewed διάκονος as a synonym for δοῦλος. Paul used the term in much the same way as his Jewish contemporaries and thus it does not require any further examination here.[14]

9.4 Paul's Historical Situation

Part One demonstrated that the Exodus event was regarded as the source for the tradition that Jews were God's slaves. Israel was released from slavery in Egypt in order to become the slaves of God. Enslavement to anyone other than God was interpreted as incongruous with Israel's national and religious self-identification and their claim to be God's slaves. Incidents of enslavement, justified or unjustified, were given a theological explanation as well as a pattern of response. Some like the authors of 1 Baruch and *Par. Jer.* concluded that slavery was the justifiable result of Israel's disobedience. The author of Judith and the 'Zealots' in Josephus concluded that slavery under a foreign oppressor was contrary to Israel's status as God's slaves and therefore should be resisted. Still others, like Josephus and Philo, viewed incidents of physical enslavement as having no consequence to the Jews' position as the slaves of God. Rather than resist slavery, they found therein an opportunity to exhibit their commitment to God as slaves.

No comparable issues are evident in Paul. From what little evidence there is, it seems that he was unconcerned if not comfortable with Rome's dominant position in the world and over Jews. There are no detectable elements within Paul that suggest he equated obedience to Roman law as analogous to being a slave of Rome. On the contrary, he specifically commands that believers obey authorities and pay taxes (Rom 13.1-7).[15] This contrasts strongly with the Zealot ideology preserved in Josephus.[16] Similar to Philo and Josephus, Paul apparently reconciled his life under Rome and its emperor with his status as a Jew and, consequently, as God's slave. What may have challenged Paul was how to reconcile his understanding of the figure of Christ and the Christ event within his already established Jewish understanding of slavery to God. How could Paul identify himself as a slave of Christ and not bring

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[14] This is opposed to Hurtado who, although acknowledging that there is a difference of meaning between the terms, assumes that διάκονος must be a synonym for δοῦλος based on its placement with Χριστος in Romans 15.8 (1985, 122).
[15] There is also the Acts tradition that Paul was a citizen of Rome (Acts 16.35-40).
[16] See above § 5.2.1.

himself into confrontation with his Jewish heritage or did he simply replace God with Christ as some scholars have suggested?[17]

[17] See above §1.1.1.

Chapter 10

The Paradigmatic Slave of God in the Epistle to the Philippians

The reason for beginning with Philippians is based on two distinctive aspects of the epistle. First, it is the only epistle in which Paul uses slavery language in association with the figure and activity of Christ. This is significant, for if the goal of the present investigation is to discover Paul's self-understanding as a slave of Christ (δοῦλος χριστοῦ), attempting to discern Paul's understanding of Christ as an enslaved figure may help to shed light on the former. Second, Philippians is also unique because of the identification of Timothy as a slave of Christ along with Paul in the greeting. This provides an occasion to observe what the notion of slavery to Christ meant for Paul, that is, not just in relation to Paul alone but also to others. Such opportunities are not provided by any of the other Pauline epistles. In accordance with the methodology described in the previous chapter, Paul and Timothy's identification as slaves of Christ will be the last item of consideration. The Christological hymn in 2.6-11 will be examined first in order to determine a possible background for the hymn as well as what it may say about Christ's position as a slave. It is in light of this analysis that the function of the hymn in the epistle as well as Paul's identification of himself and others as slaves of Christ will be examined.

10.1 Survey of Suggested Backgrounds to Philippians 2.6-11

The quest to discover a possible background to Philippians 2.6-11 has generated as much effort and as many suggestions as have the attempts to interpret the passage itself.[1] Because of the many volumes and varied approaches that already exist, the following overview only highlights the better-known proposals along with the most pertinent criticisms. Anyone wishing to read a more comprehensive analysis of the various proposals available may consult the valuable monograph by Ralph P. Martin now in its third edition.[2]

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[1] This thesis assumes that Philippians 2.6-11 is an early Christian hymn as accepted by NT scholarship in general. Identification of the passage as a hymn, however, will neither aid nor hinder the investigation, but will provide a convenient format for discussion and identification of the passage.
[2] Martin 1997, xliii-xlvi; 24-41.

10.1.1 The Servant of the Lord

One of the more prominent and long standing proposals for a background to the hymn is the servant songs Isaiah 52-53. E. Lohmeyer, while not the first, proposed that the phrase μορφὴν δούλου λαβών in Philippians 2.7 should be traced back to the Isaian servant of Yahweh whose obedience, submission and glorification are the prototype of Christ in Philippians.[3] Other scholars who have adopted this approach include J. Jeremias,[4] D.M. Stanley,[5] and L. Cerfaux.[6] Proponents of this background understand the phrase μορφὴν δούλου λαβών literally as 'playing the part of the servant of the Lord.' The principal clause ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν in 2.7 was not viewed as a discussion of Christ's surrender of privileges or divinity but is equivalent to the Hebrew phrase הֶעֱרָה לַמָּוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ (LXX -παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ).[7] The similarities of this phrase in Isaiah 53.12 with Philippians 2.7 indicated that like the Isaian servant Christ had poured out his own life, i.e. in sacrifice on the cross. The climactic action of the hymn in 2.9, which depicts God as exalting Christ (ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν), is said to be analogous to statements concerning the servant in Isaiah 52.13 (ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα). Thus according to this suggested background, the hymn is a portrayal of Christ's work as a fulfillment of the prophecies concerning the servant in the Isaian texts.

Many commentators are attracted to the Isaian servant background, but several objections have been raised against this interpretation. In her examination of servant themes in the NT, M.D. Hooker responded by pointing out that there was no linguistic validity for regarding the words ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν . . . μέχρι θανάτου as a reference to Isaiah 53.12. While κενόω may be a possible translation for עָרָה, it is not used in this sense in the LXX, nor is its primary meaning the death of Christ in the Philippian hymn. Hooker noted: "The words μέχρι θανάτου belong to a completely different construction" than the Isaian εἰς θάνατον "and cannot be used as evidence that refers to the Isaian concept." Hooker did agree with the servant song proponents

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[3] However, Lohmeyer did not expound on this theory and instead concentrated on a background of heterodox Judaism that employed the Iranian myth of a divine redeemer. See Martin's analysis 1997, 51, 74-75.
[4] Jeremias 1953.
[5] Stanley 1954, 385-425.
[6] Cerfaux 1954.
[7] Jeremias 1953, 154, n.3; Stanley, 1954, 422.

that both passages have a general theme of humiliation and exaltation, but did not think that this means that the concept in Philippians was derived from Isaiah 52-53.[8] A further criticism has been that the hymn's presentation does not correspond to the logical order of the passages in Isaiah. For example, the exaltation in Isaiah 52.3 (ὑψωθήσεται) is situated at the beginning of the section describing the servant's humiliation. In Philippians, however, it is in response to humiliation and obedience (ὑπερύψωσεν).[9] Consequently, complications with this interpretation have made it difficult to accept regardless of its attractiveness.

10.1.2 The Righteous One

Rather than viewing the hymn as having a direct connection with the Isaian servant songs, Eduard Schweizer suggested a setting in a wider Jewish pattern of humiliation-exaltation found primarily in connection with the Isaian servant passages.[10] He noted that all of life in 'later Judaism' was regarded as obedience and servile submission to God and that the designation of 'servant' came to be a decisive word to denote all who provide service to God.[11] As this concept developed in later Judaism, some individuals began to be spoken of as 'righteous ones' who humbled themselves or voluntarily accepted humiliation by suffering death in obedience to God.[12] In support of this hypothesis Schweizer offers a list from the post-biblical period of individuals who were said to have been exalted by God.[13] In the NT, according to Schweizer, Jesus is understood in terms of self-abasement and the servant of God. When addressing the Philippian hymn, Schweizer determined that Christ was fulfilling the role of the righteous ones and that to call Christ 'servant of God,' as he believes the hymn does, would have been quite natural "because every righteous one who took on himself suffering and humiliation for God's sake were [sic] so called."[14] Christ, then, according to Schweizer, is the righteous one *par excellence*.

Apart from criticism by G. Bornkamm surrounding the discussion of pre-existence, Schweizer's contribution has been somewhat overlooked and consequently

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[8] Hooker 1959, 121.
[9] Martin 1997, 186-187.
[10] Schweizer 1960, 49.
[11] Ibid., 24.
[12] Ibid., 30
[13] Ibid., 23-30.
[14] Ibid., 51.

not given the examination it deserves.[15] The genius of his proposal, however, is that it cuts away the restrictive confines of the Isaian servant songs and allows the background to extend into numerous areas of early Judaism.

10.1.3 The Gnostic Redeemer

E. Käsemann proposed a background for the hymn in Hellenistic religion particularly in the Hermetic literature (*Corp. Herm.* 1.13-14).[16] He contended that the overall structure of the hymn could be interpreted as the descent and ascent of the Gnostic *Urmensch*-Saviour.[17] He argued that Philippians 2.6-8 with the phrase μορφὴν δούλου λαβών described Christ's subservience to hostile cosmic powers while verses 10-11 spoke of their defeat and their own recognition of that defeat. Objections to Käsemann's conclusions have focused on the validity of appealing to second-century documents in support of a Gnostic background and Dieter Georgi's criticism that important elements of the *Urmensch*-Redeemer myth are missing from the hymn. [18]

10.1.4 The Servant and Wisdom

Against Käsemann, Georgi chose to place the hymn in the context of Jewish wisdom literature by identifying a developing myth whose form was contained almost exclusively in the Wisdom of Solomon. The background to the hymn was, as with Schweizer, 'the righteous one', 'the suffering servant', who was portrayed as an instrument of God. Georgi concluded that the figure of the righteous one was influenced by the Isaian servant songs, but upon entrance into Sapientia the servant became the righteous figure who loses all individual traits and whose fate become generalized and typical for all people.[19] A comparison of Wisdom 5.1, 16 with Philippians 2.8 reveals that both passages understand the death of the righteous figure not as an end but a turning point. According to Georgi, Christ is the 'righteous one,' who was in the form of God, took on suffering and death, and was exalted by God.[20]

While Georgi's point about a developing myth might be conceded, the use of only the Wisdom of Solomon to support this myth and as providing the sole religious-historical background to the hymn seems to reflect the same narrow approach of those

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[15] Martin, however, does find some value in Schweizer's approach.
[16] Käsemann 1968, 45-88.
[17] Ibid., 63-67.
[18] See analysis by O'Brien 1991, 193.
[19] Georgi 1964, 271. See the analysis by Sanders 1971, 70.
[20] Georgi 1964, 274; See also Sanders 1971, 71.

who appealed to the Isaian servant songs.[21] Furthermore, the theory fails to explain how the notion of Wisdom made this transference to the figure of the 'righteous one' and how it was subsequently transferred to Christ.[22] Some have even doubted that Georgi's conclusions have helped to support a Jewish background, but instead may point to a Christian composition that draws upon and combines certain concepts to explain the Christ event.[23]

10.1.5 The First and Last Adam

Another suggested background for the hymn has been the figure of Adam. M.D. Hooker,[24] J. Murphy-O'Connor,[25] and J.D.G. Dunn[26] have advocated this background. This 'Adam Christology' states that the Philippian hymn was composed in deliberate contrast to the story of Adam in Genesis 1-3. Readers were to understand that the first Adam, who was in the εἰκών of God (argued to be a synonym of μορφή), grasped at becoming equal with God (Gen. 3.5 ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ). Christ, the second Adam, however, did not grasp at this equality (οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ).[27] The phrases μορφὴ δούλου, ὁμοιώμα ἀνθρώπων, and σχήμα ὡς ἄνθρωπος in Philippians 2.7 are all considered to be synonymous and variant ways of describing the character of the fallen Adam.[28] Consequently, when the first Adam grasped at that which was not his, he did not 'take on' (i.e. voluntarily) the form of a slave (μορφὴν δούλου λαβών) but rather 'received' the form of a slave as just recompense for his sin.[29] The contrast, then, is that although Adam had been in the μορφῇ θεοῦ he sinned and was forced to receive the μορφή δούλου; Adam signifies that all humans are slaves to sin.[30] When in Philippians 2.9 Christ is said to be exalted, the echoes of the first Adam cease. This is because the work of Christ has brought about a reversal to the actions of the first Adam. Whereas the first Adam was intended to rule creation but failed, the second Adam fulfilled this role and revealed what humanity had been intended to be.[31] Hence, according to this approach, the

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[21] See also O'Brien 1991, 195; Sanders 1971, 72.
[22] Martin 1997, xxx.
[23] Sanders 1971, 72.
[24] Hooker 1990, 88-100.
[25] Murphy-O'Connor 1976, 25-50.
[26] Dunn 1980, 113-22.
[27] Dunn 1980,117; Hooker 1990, 96-97.
[28] Dunn 1980, 117.
[29] Ibid., 116.
[30] Hooker 1990, 98-99.
[31] Ibid., 99.

hymn speaks of the actions of Christ while "Adam lurks in the background" making an implicit comparison between the actions of the first and last Adam.[32]

Criticism of this background has been made at several junctures. First, the conclusion that μορφή and εἰκών are interchangeable has suffered doubt because while there is some overlap it is not precise enough to conclude that they are synonyms.[33] In conjunction with this is the fact that nowhere in the LXX or the NT is Adam referred to as μορφῇ θεοῦ, which effectively undercuts the argument that Adam's supposed receiving of the μορφή δούλου can be contrasted to his original state of μορφῇ θεου.[34] Second, the lack of even a single linguistic parallel to the Genesis narrative makes the whole comparison, at best, conceptual only. Without any other supposed allusions to Adam in Philippians it is impossible to know if the readers would have even been able to understand the contrast of the two Adams.[35] Finally, J. R. Levison has challenged the methodology of the 'Adam Christology'. He points out that the presentation is inadequate with respect to early Judaism. Proponents of 'Adam Christology' often list Adam passages in early Jewish literature passages without interpreting them. The result is that portraits of Adam in early Jewish literature are distorted and squeezed into the mold of Pauline concepts due to a failure to recognize the diversity of interpretations of Adam in early Judaism.[36]

10.1.6 The Slave of God Motif in Early Judaism

On balance, three of the five proposed backgrounds have some type of connection to the Isaian servant songs. The reason for this is the obvious attractiveness that the setting has in connection to the phrase μορφὴν δούλου λαβών in 2.7. N.T. Wright reinforces the attraction when he opts to conclude that the background to the hymn is both Adam Christology and the suffering servant; he goes on to designate both together as reflecting an "Israel Christology."[37] The problem until now, though, has been that any attempt to place the hymn against a background of 'servanthood' in Judaism (or more properly – 'slavery') has been hampered by an approach that is too narrow. Rather than measure the hymn against a restricted grid of

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[32] Dunn 1980, 119.
[33] Steenburg, 1988, 77-86. R.P. Martin (a supporter of synonymity but not Adam Christology) responds to this conclusion with an appeal to a single occurrence of צלם translated as μορφή in the LXX rather than as εἰκών as it is elsewhere. Even in this appeal, however, Martin is forced to admit that the evidence is "not very great" (1997, lxiii n. 38).
[34] O'Brien 1991, 264.
[35] Fee 1995, 209.
[36] Levison 1988, 13, 20-21.

the Isaian servant songs or the Wisdom of Solomon, a broader approach would be preferable. Placement of the hymn within the context of the slavery to God motif in early Judaism provides a framework to test this approach.

Taking into consideration the hypothesis put forth by Schweizer, it seems plausible that the hymn draws upon an established and wide-ranging pattern of Humiliation – Exaltation found in Judaism.[38] This is a pattern that many scholars have identified as central to the action in the hymn.[39] But another important aspect of the hymn is its portrayal of Christ's obedience in the form of a slave. If the prominence of Christ's obedience is added to the hymn's already accepted pattern of Humiliation – Exaltation, the pattern is actually one of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* which was identified as part of the slave of God motif in Part One of this thesis. If it is also accepted, as argued in Part One, that the basis for Jews identifying themselves as God's slaves was the requirement of loyal obedience to God, then it is quite possible that the hymn portrays Christ as a slave of God based upon a pattern of unyielding obedience to God. This pattern occurs not through a limited prism of Isaian servant songs, but through a much wider understanding of the motif. The hymn's pattern resonates with the servant songs because the songs and hymn are both part of a wider pattern in early Judaism. This can be demonstrated through exegesis of the hymn and a comparison of similar patterns found in early Jewish literature.

10.2 Exegesis of Philippians 2.6-11

While it is outside the scope of this thesis to conduct a comprehensive analysis of Philippians 2.6-11, it is possible to offer brief exegetical examination. Such brevity necessitates making numerous conclusions that cannot be fully explained here, but must be identified and subsequently supported by others who have made similar conclusions. The following breakdown of Philippians 2.6-11 does not represent 'stanzas' of the hymn but a basis from which to work.

6a ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
6b οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ,
7a ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών,
7b ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς
ὡς ἄνθρωπος
8 ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου,

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[37] Wright 1991, 59.
[38] Schweizer 1960, 49.
[39] Martin 1997, 230, 297.

θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.
9 διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,
10 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων
11 καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.[40]

10.2.1 Christ's Status before God (v. 6a)

In the past attention has been devoted to understanding the meaning of μορφῇ θεου in 6a because of its obvious relation with μορφὴν δούλου in 7a. Many scholars attempt to interpret this phrase in the context of Christology and are concerned with questions of Christ's pre-existence.[41] For the present study, however, it will suffice to note that μορφή is used infrequently in both the LXX and the NT.[42] In Greek literature it occurs from Homer onwards and in all of its nuances came to represent that "which is perceived by the senses."[43] In the LXX and the NT, the term refers to the visible form or appearance of something, "not simply to an external appearance or behaviour, but also that which inwardly corresponds (or is expected to correspond) to the outward."[44]

In his examination of Phil 2.6-11, Eduard Schweizer suggested that μορφή was more than simply outward appearance, it was also a designation of "status and position."[45] Hawthorne and O'Brien both rejected Schweizer's view based on the difficulty of finding such an understanding of μορφή in Greek literature,[46] but it has received some support from R. P. Martin. Noting the term's usage in Tobit 1.13, Martin suggested that Shalmaneser's actions resulted from a 'condition' or 'status' perceived in Tobit's μορφή:

> Then the Most High gave me favour and good appearance (μορφὴν) in the sight of Shalmaneser"(RSV).

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[40] Aland, 1983.
[41] Analysis of the hymn in this thesis is not an attempt at Christology. Therefore, discussions surrounding what the hymn may say concerning the nature and person of Christ are not pertinent to the investigation.
[42] In the LXX Judg 8.18; Job 4.16; Isa 44.13; Dan 3.19; Tob 1.13; Wis 18.1. In the NT it only appears at Mark 16.12 although cognates of the word are used by Paul elsewhere: μόρφωσις (Rom 2.20), μορφόω (Gal 4.19), μεταμορφόω (Rom 12.22; 2 Cor 3.18), συμμορφίζω (Phil 3.10), and σύμμορφος (Phil 3.21).
[43] J. Behm 1967, 4: 745.
[44] O'Brien 1991, 207.
[45] Schweizer 1960, 62.
[46] Hawthorne 1983, 83; O'Brien 1991, 210.

Martin concluded that by interpreting μορφή as a 'condition' or 'status' one can allow for a more precise parallelism between verses 6a and 7b.[47]

On balance, the evidence seems to indicate that acceptance of μορφή as representing an outward/inward appearance (Hawthorne/O'Brien) is not incompatible with an idea of condition or status (Schweizer/Martin). The term's occurrence in Tobit 1.13 does in fact indicate an external appearance that communicated a 'condition' or 'status', but in the context of the preceding verse (1.12) it is understood that Tobit's status was a result of remembering God. It was Tobit's 'inward qualities,' consequently, that affected his 'outward qualities' and caused God to grant him a particular 'condition' or 'status' before Shalmaneser. If this interpretation is applied to Phil 2.6-11, it may be suggested, then, that Christ's existence (ὑπάρχων) in the form of God (μορφῇ θεοῦ) was one that conveyed both inward and outward qualities. This being the case, μορφή in 2.6a is a description of Christ's particular 'condition' or 'status' in relation to God.

10.2.2 Christ's Refusal to Use His Status (v.6b)

The main difficulty in 6b has been the meaning of ἁρπαγμὸς in relation to ἴσα θεῷ; what was it that Christ did not consider doing in relation to his equality with God?[48] Expanding on the contribution made by W. Jaeger,[49] R.W. Hoover[50] demonstrated how in Greek literature the phrase ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τί was used as an idiomatic expression that regarded something as a stroke of good luck or a piece of good fortune.[51] In every occurrence of the idiom, it consistently referred to something already present and at the disposal of the person(s) who considered it their good fortune. "The question in these instances," Hoover argued, "was not whether or not one possessed something but whether or not one chose to exploit that thing to their advantage (sic)."[52] Applying this definition to Philippians 2.6, Hoover concluded: "he (Christ) did not consider being equal with God something to take advantage of" or,

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[47] Martin 1991, xx.
[48] N.T. Wright has surveyed more than twenty different approaches to the problem of defining ἁρπαγμός and his work demonstrates that the suggestions are too numerous to be considered here (1986, 321-352; and 1991, 56-98).
[49] Jaeger 1915, 537-553; in Hoover 1971, 94-98.
[50] Hoover 1971, 95-119.
[51] Vollenweider has recently argued that the phrase should not be understood as an idiom but in a clearly negative way as 'booty'. He proposes that Christ serves as an anti-type to self-elevating rulers in Judaism and Hellenism who aspire to equality with God. Vollenweider concludes that Christ's Lordship is not based upon usurpation of power. While this proposal provides an interesting approach from the history of religions rather than philology, it does not change the basic premise of Hoover's conclusions (1999, 413-433).

more idiomatically, "as something to use for his own advantage."[53] If Hoover's conclusion is used in conjunction with the suggested interpretation of 6a, then all of verse 6 may be seen as a description of Christ as one who possessed a particular 'condition' or 'status' but did not consider this as something that should be used for his own advantage.[54]

10.2.3 Christ's Choice to Become a Slave (v. 7a)

While much discussion has surrounded the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν in 2.7a,[55] the lack of any parallels in other Greek literature makes it difficult to agree on anything other than the most basic meaning of "making empty or of no effect."[56] O'Brien has demonstrated that in the seven times that κενόω occurs in the LXX and NT, it is consistently used metaphorically and that the balance of probability is in favor of a similar interpretation in Philippians 2.7.[57] Fee, following the lead of others, argued that it meant Christ made himself powerless.[58] Wright similarly concluded that: "ἐκένωσεν does not refer to the loss of divine attributes, but – in good Pauline fashion – to make something powerless, emptying it of apparent significance."[59] These conclusions are undoubtedly correct. But because the adversative particle in 7a (ἀλλά) receives its force from the negative particle in 6b (οὐχ),[60] the action of κενόω seems to indicate more than a simple powerlessness on the part of Christ. It implies a voluntary choice as indicated by the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτός. Christ chose not to use his 'condition' or 'status' to his advantage but rather to 'empty himself' of the privilege and its significance to him.

The content of the choice is evident in the second phrase of 7a: μορφὴν δούλου λαβών. Here the repetition of μορφή is undoubtedly intended to give substance to the contrast that exists between vv. 6a and 7a as a result of Christ's choice. Rather than retaining the position of μορφῇ θεου, Christ chose to relinquish his 'condition' or 'status' in association with God and accept in its place the

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[52] Hoover 1971, 118.
[53] Ibid., 118.
[54] Building on Hoover's suggestion, Wright pointed out that the presence of the articular infinitive τὸ εἶναι is an indicator that refers to "something previously mentioned or otherwise well known." The τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ in 2.6 "would refer back, epexegetically, to ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων and might even suggest a stronger translation of this divine equality"(1986, 344- 345).
[55] A list of various views and there proponents may be found in Hawthorne, (1983, 85).
[56] BAGD, 428.
[57] Jer 14.2; 15.9; Rom 4.14; 1 Cor 1.17; 1 Cor 9.15; 2 Cor 9.15; Phil 2.7; O'Brien, 217.
[58] Fee 1995, 211; O'Brien 1991, 217; Wright 1986, 345.
[59] Wright 1986, 345-46.

μορφή δούλου. This new 'form' had an implicit effect upon Christ. Rather than be equal to God (ἴσα θεῷ) his choice made him subordinate to God. The λαβών here also indicates a voluntary attitude. This action was not forced upon Christ, but rather something he willingly chose to take up.[61] The contrast emphasized by the repetition of μορφή with the combinations of θεός and δοῦλος demonstrates that Christ willingly accepted a change of condition and status. By willingly accepting the position of a slave, Christ also took on the 'inward and outward qualities' and the 'status' of a slave, i.e. he subordinated himself to God as a slave.[62]

10.2.4 Christ's Identification with the Status of Humanity (v.7b)

The placement of the aorist participle γενόμενος in 7b after the aorist participle λαβών in 7a suggests that while the latter may signify the choice of action undertaken by Christ, it is γενόμενος that describes the ramifications of that choice. Both participles are linked with ἐκένωσεν in 7a and describe the manner in which Christ emptied himself, i.e. by becoming a slave and human.[63] Added to these may be the third aorist participle εὑρεθεὶς which also reflects the activity of emptying and extends the synthetic parallel of thought. All of the participles stand in contrast to ὑπάρχων in 6a and emphasize the dramatic results of the choice that Christ made by accepting the μορφὴν δούλου.[64]

The occurrence of ὁμοίωμα in 7.b is commonly accepted as meaning 'identity' in that it describes Christ's full identity with the human race while σχῆμα describes how others perceived his appearance.[65] Schneider noted that σχῆμα not only referred to an exterior appearance or physical constitution but to "Christ's whole nature and manner as man. In this respect the outward 'bearing' He assumes corresponds to his inner being."[66] In other words, Christ's existence as human was not just an 'external appearance'; it was both an 'inward' and 'outward' appearance/qualities just as it was in his form of a slave and in the form of God.[67]

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[60] The introduction of the adversative particle ἀλλά after a negative particle (οὐχ in 6b) indicates a difference with or contrast to what precedes (BAGD, 37).
[61] Hawthorne 1983, 86.
[62] As Martin says: Of his own volition and unfettered choice he made himself as nothing, setting no store upon his possession of his dignity as the μορφή of God. His refusal to use what he had to his own advantage (ἁρπαγμός) meant his acceptance of the office of man upon earth (Martin 1997, 195).
[63] O'Brein 1991, 217, following BDF, § 339(1).
[64] Hawthorne 1983, 87.
[65] O'Brien 1991, 225; Fee 1995, 213; Hawthorne 1983, 87.
[66] Schneider 1971, 7:956.
[67] Hawthorne concludes that μορφή, ὁμοίωμα, and σχῆμα are all synonymous and part of a three-fold reiteration that emphasizes the humanity of Christ (1983, 87-88).

To summarize verse 7: Christ, though existing in a position of equality with God, chose not to take advantage of his status as one in the form of God, but voluntarily emptied himself of the privileges and took on the form of a slave. By accepting this new form Christ became identified with humanity and, similar to his existence in the form of God, exhibited all of the internal and external characteristics of humanity including the subordinate position as a slave under God.

10.2.5 Christ's Self-Humiliation and Obedience towards God (v. 8)

In many ways verse 8 appears merely to be a continuation of the action in verse 7.[68] The purpose of verse 8 is not, however, to offer a further description of the emptying action of verse 7 but to take it further. Similar to verse 7, the aorist verb in verse 8 describes Christ's self-humbling (ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν), but then receives a more accurate description by the aorist participle (γενόμενος) that follows.[69] The participle describes this self-humbling in association with the actions of obedience (γενόμενος ὑπήκοος) and uses a preposition (μέχρι) that emphasizes the measure and degree to which the obedience extended,[70] which in the case of Christ was death. Also similar to verse 7 is the idea that this was an action that Christ voluntarily chose to carry out. The presence of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτός in verses 7 and 8 emphasizes Christ's choice to follow this course of action. Just as he chose to become identified with humanity and accept the position of a slave, Christ also chose to be obedient in this state. This obedience reached the point of death, when obedience became both impossible and unnecessary.[71]

There has been some question about to whom or what Christ was obedient, as this is not made explicit in the hymn.[72] In the context of Christ accepting a 'condition' or 'status' in contrast to his 'condition' or 'status' in relation to God, it is not difficult to conclude that Christ's obedience was directed towards God. The choice to accept the form of a slave in contrast to the form of God, which at the very

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[68] There is considerable debate as to whether a break should start here in verse 8 (Hawthorne 1983, 89) or at the καὶ in verse 7 (Fee 1995, 215). Because of the synthetic parallelism that verse 7 contains in reference to Christ's action of emptying, verse 8 has been concluded to introduce a similar but somewhat different thought than verse 7 and therefore warrants special treatment.
[69] Hawthorne 1983, 89.
[70] BAGD, 515.
[71] The presence of the phrase θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ in this verse is commonly recognized as not original to the hymn but a Pauline gloss. Whether this is the case or not, the addition of the phrase neither adds nor subtracts from the description of Christ's obedience till the point of death. The only thing that this addition does is to serve as a description of the particular gruesomeness of Christ's death and to reflect the centrality of the cross in Pauline theology. See Hengel 1977, 51-63.
[72] Martin 1997, 227.

least carries connotations of subordination and obedience, implies that Christ is now in a position of subordination to God. He emptied himself of the privileges of one who was equal to God, humbled himself and became subordinate to God by identifying with humanity.

10.2.6 God's Exaltation of Christ (v.9)

Verse 9 is significant because it shifts the action way from the activity of Christ to the activity of God in response to Christ.[73] The presence of the inferential conjunction διό at the beginning of the verse followed by a double occurrence of the conjunction καί indicates that what follows is a result of what has gone before.[74] Two aorist phrases in the verse describe God's action toward Christ (αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν and ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ), but missing from the equation are the aorist participles that depicted the action of Christ in verses 7 and 8. This is because in verse 9 the activity is precise and immediate as opposed to the stages in verses7-8.[75] The use of the aorist verbs in conjunction with God indicates that exaltation is in response to Christ's voluntary emptying and humbling himself (aorist) and not his death on the cross.[76] The double occurrence of the preposition ὑπέρ followed by accusative nouns serves the same purpose as μέχρι in verse 8 by describing the degree to which the action extended.

While μέχρι relates to the extent of Christ's obedience until the point of death, ὑπέρ relates the extent to which God then exalted Christ. This exaltation was to the highest possible point and was accompanied with the gift of a name that was beyond any other name.[77] If the superlative rather than comparative reading of the verse is accepted, then we may agree with F.W. Beare that by exalting Christ and gifting to him a name, "God exalted him to the highest station."[78] While there has been some discussion in the past about the content of the 'name' given to the exalted Christ, it is commonly accepted that it is the title of κύριος that follows in verse 11.[79] This title, of course, has its background in the LXX as the divine name by which God

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[73] Schweizer 1960, 63.
[74] BDF, § 442 (12), 451 (5); BAGD, 198.
[75] Hawthorne 1983, 91.
[76] O'Brien 1991, 233.
[77] BAGD, 842. See Martin 1997, 242-44; O'Brien 1991, 236; and Fee 1995, 220, together with most modern commentators.
[78] Beare 1959, 85.
[79] Martin 1997, 235-39.

was known to Israel and by which he was praised as the Most High over all the earth (Ps. 96[97]. 9) and exalted (ὁ ὕψιστος) over all other gods (ὑπερυψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς Dan 3.52). This position was not just a step higher than other gods, but in a completely unique division above them.[80] Consequently, God's gift of the name κύριος to Christ is an action of exaltation.[81] By doing this God reaffirmed the equality and privileges that Christ enjoyed before he voluntarily chose not to use them to his advantage. Furthermore, the title of κύριος reconfirms Christ's 'status' and removing him from his voluntary 'status' before God as a slave and elevating him to the highest possible position. This position, which is more fully described in the verses that follow, is one that portrays Christ not as having a different 'condition' or 'status' before God, in that he can be no more in the form of God or equal to God than he already was, but as having a position that gives him the authority to exercise Lordship over all creation.

10.2.7 Christ's Authority over Creation (vv. 10-11)

These verses signal the end of the hymn and elaborate verse 9 by describing the wider implications of God's activity in response to Christ's voluntary choices. There are two aspects to the closing verses that are important to understanding the position that the title κύριος gives to Christ.

First, the language of homage that is being directed towards Christ, and ultimately towards God, is universally encompassing; all of creation is gathered under the same obligation to bow the knee and confess the position of Christ. In this way the hymn establishes the authority of Christ in the new position of Lordship.

Second, the universal homage reflects the significance of the title given to Christ; until now it has belonged solely to God. In Isaiah 45 it is declared that God created all things, is the Lord, and there is none else (v.18 -'Εγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι; and v. 22 - ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος). In response to this position over all creation, God has declared that he will make every knee bow and every tongue confess (v.23 - ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ). The imagery is unmistakable.[82] The hymn ascribes to Christ not only the title of κύριος but also all of the authority

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[80] O'Brien 1991, 236.
[81] Fee 1995, 221.
[82] Note the following convergence of language:

Isa 45.23 ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ		καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ
Phil 2.10-11	πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ	καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται

invested in the title.[83] Christ has been elevated to a position of authority previously held only by God.

10.2.8 Summary of the Hymn

Based on the above exegesis the hymn may be summarized as follows: Christ, who enjoyed a particular 'condition' or 'status' before God and was equal to God, decided not to use this position to his own advantage but instead chose of his own accord to take on a new 'condition' or 'status' before God in the role of a slave whereby he was made subordinate to God in the same way that all of humanity is subordinate to God. In this new position Christ voluntarily humbled himself and became obedient to God even to the point where obedience meant his own death. In response to this obedience, God exalted Christ by giving to him the name that had traditionally belonged to God as Israel's deity. Along with this name Christ was also given authority over all creation and the right to receive obeisance from it.

10.3 Christ as the Slave of God in Philippians 2.6-11

The hymn does not state why Christ made this choice nor does it seem to reflect upon wider soteriological factors in relation to the person of Jesus and his death. What the hymn does provide is a paradigm exemplified by the figure of Christ. While nowhere does it expressly state that Christ was a δοῦλος θεοῦ, it can be argued, with L.W. Hurtado, that the movement of Christ from μορφῇ θεοῦ to μορφὴν δούλου followed by an act of obedience leading to the exaltation of Christ is sufficient evidence that Christ was acting in the role of a slave of God.[84] But this comparison goes beyond a simple implicit identification of Christ as a slave. There are several other features that are similar to the Jewish motif of slavery to God as investigated in Part One of the thesis.

Christ's obedience is an important aspect of the hymn. But as the above exegesis has demonstrated, Christ's obedience is the result of his choice to become a slave. Thus the type of obedience Christ portrays in the hymn can be easily described as that which is similar to that of a slave. By willingly taking this status on himself, Christ demonstrated that, as other slaves of God, he had rejected the right of self-determination. The hymn's description of Christ fulfilling an obligation of obedience to God is similar to the way that Israel's obligation of obedience to God was

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The ἐξομολογήσεται in Isaiah is a variant supported by AQℵ^{c} as opposed to Bℵ Lucian Catenae which supports ομειται.

[83] Fee 1995, 223.

described within the framework of slavery. By refusing to use his status in relation to God for his own advantage, Christ chose to become as a subordinated slave under God, a choice that Philo would have affirmed as better than self-determination (*Planting* 53.6; *Heir* 6-7; *Dreams* 2.100).[85]

Christ's self-humility followed upon his choice to become a slave and emphasized that this position involved obedience as a slave to a master. As demonstrated in Part One, Jews often found themselves in situations that either humbled them or required them to humble themselves. The fact that Christ is said to have carried out this self-humbling obedience till the point of death is comparable to the actions of those Jews who remained obedient slaves of God even at the cost of their own lives.

God's response to this obedience and self-humbling is to exalt Christ. This exaltation is not just a change of status from slave to Lord; it involves the subordination of everyone and everything under the authority of the exalted Christ. Jews continued in obedience with the ultimate hope of being exalted over their enemies. The hymn does not mention any specific enemies of Christ. The description of obedience to God until death could suggest, however, the same type of crisis caused by an encounter with one's enemy, and the Pauline gloss 'even death on the cross' might also be read as an implicit reference to an unnamed enemy. Thus Christ's situation is analogous to those threatened by an enemy and his conduct is similar to the way slaves of God respond.

This dramatic passage not only describes Christ as a slave of God, it demonstrates this by describing his conduct. Thus the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* suggests that, in the hymn, Christ is a paradigm of slavery to God in the tradition of those in early Judaism who reflected a similar pattern of conduct in the way that they fulfilled their obligations to God.

10.3.1 Christ and the Post-Biblical Figure of Joseph

An initial criticism of identifying this wider motif as a background to the hymn is that it may appear to suffer the same weakness of the Adam Christology by appearing conceptual only. This identification goes beyond the conceptual sphere, however, when the action of Christ in the hymn is compared to the actions of the post-biblical figure of Joseph. As demonstrated in Part One, the post-biblical figure of

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[84] Hurtado 1985, 122 n. 36.

10. *The Paradigmatic Slave of God in the Epistle to the Philippians*

Joseph came to represent paradigmatically how a slave of God was to act out obedience. The retelling of the Joseph story was shaped around the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* While many aspects of the hymn's pattern can be found in material about the post-biblical figure of Joseph, it is the *T. Joseph* that provides the most comprehensive portrait.[86] The following comparison adds support to the conclusion that a much wider motif is behind the Philippian hymn than just the Isaian servant songs or other narrowly defined traditons.

A. *The Status of Christ and Joseph*

Examination of Philippians 2.6 concluded that the hymn's description of Christ 's existence (ὑπάρχων) in the μορφῇ θεοῦ reflected some type of inward and outward qualities that gave him a particular status before God. By placing this description at the beginning, the hymn clearly stated the true status of Christ and created a contrasting parallelism with the subsequent description of his status in the μορφῇ δούλου.

When the figure of Joseph is considered it is discovered that he also was in a similar position as Christ but in relation to his father Jacob. The *T. Joseph* relates that the Memphian woman could determine simply by looking at Joseph that he was not a slave, but nobly born and thus could not be properly enslaved:

> διὰ τί συνέχεις τὸν ἀιχμάλωτον καὶ εὐγενῇ παῖδα ὃν ἔδει μᾶλλον ἄνετον καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν σοι (14.3-4).
>
> "Why do you detain the young man who, though a captive, is nobly born? Rather he should be set free and attended by servants."[87]

This assessment is confirmed by the Ishmaelite slave traders who also note the incongruity of Joseph's position as a slave with his true status as the son of a great man:

> τί ὅτι εἶπας σεαυτὸν δοῦλον εἶναι; καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔγνωμεν ὅτι υἱὸς εἶ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου (15.2).
>
> "Why did you tell us you were a slave? Behold we know that you are the son of a great man."

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[85] See above § 6.3.2.

[86] Although *T. Joseph* has been heavily Christianized in places none of the material drawn upon here shows any clear signs of Christian influence. Moreover, all of the themes that are examined here are also resident in Joseph material found in early Jewish literature and are not unique to *T. Joseph.* (See above § 7.4).

[87] English translations are my own.

Although the μορφή terminology of the hymn is not present in *T. Joseph*, a similar idea is expressed when an Ishmaelite states that Joseph cannot be a slave because his 'appearance' proves it:

οὐκ εἶ δοῦλος σύ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὄψις σου δηλοῖ περί σου (11.3).

"You are not a slave even your appearance makes that evident."

Thus a parallel is conveyed: Christ and Joseph were initially part of relationships that provided them with a status that was contrasted with their subsequent status as slaves. Just as Joseph should not have been enslaved because of his relationship with his father so also Christ's relationship with God should have precluded his becoming a slave.

B. *The Relinquishment of the Status*

In Philippians 2.6b, Christ is presented as one who, though equal with God (ἴσα θεῷ), did not consider his status before God as something that he should use to his own advantage (οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο). This refusal is reconfirmed in 2.7b when Christ is said to have emptied himself (ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν) by voluntarily choosing not to use his status to his advantage but rather to 'empty himself' of its privilege.

This same attitude is also found in Joseph. Although he was sold to the Ishmaelites by his brothers, Joseph chose not to tell the traders who his father was, but instead concealed his true status. This is particularly evident in 10.6 where Joseph is made to say:

> ἐσιώπων πιπρασκόμενος μὴ εἰπεῖν τοῖς Ἰσμαηλίταις τὸ γένος μου ὅτι υἱός εἰμί Ἰακωβ, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου καὶ δυνατοῦ.
>
> "When my brothers sold me I remained silent rather than tell the Ishmaelites that I am the son of Jacob a great and powerful man."

Indeed, even under intense questioning from the Ishmaelites (11.14; 15.1-6), of an Egyptian slave trader (12.1-13.5) and while being tortured by Pentephris (13.6-9) Joseph continually refused to take advantage of his privileged family status as a way to be freed from enslavement. Instead he accepted his situation and even promoted it to his own detriment (10.5-6; 17.1-2). There is some difference between Christ and Joseph. Joseph was already enslaved when he decided not to take advantage of his privileged status, while Christ was not yet enslaved when he made his choice. The results, however, are the same. Similar to Christ, Joseph voluntarily relinquished

himself of his status by emptying himself of the privilege and significance of being the son of Jacob.

C. *The Choice to become a Slave*

In the hymn, Christ's acceptance of a μορφὴ δούλου in 2.7a was considered a voluntary action. Christ willingly entered into a position of subordination under God even though it was in direct contrast to his actual status as μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.

In addition to his refusal to use family status to his advantage, Joseph also voluntarily adopted the position of a slave. This was not merely the result of his silence about his true status, but was a persona in which he willingly engaged. When pressed for the truth about his real status as Jacob's son, Joseph responded four times with a declaration that he was a slave:

11.2 – κἀγώ εἶπον ὅτι δοῦλος αὐτων εἰμί ἐξ οἰκου
And I said that I am a slave from their household

11.3 - ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλεγον ὅτι δοῦλος αὐτων εἰμί
But I said that I am their slave

13.6 – εἶπέ μοι δοῦλος εἶ ἢ ἐλευθερος; καὶ εἶπον δοῦλος
He said to me, are you a slave or free person? And I said a slave.

15.3 - εἶπα ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα δοῦλος εἰμι
I said I know nothing; I am a slave.

Joseph's repeated claim to be a slave despite his true status is analogous to Christ's taking on the status of a slave. Joseph did not have to become enslaved and would have been freed from his lowly position by simply revealing his true status. Joseph chose to remain in a situation of enslavement while Christ chose to enter into a position of enslavement.

D. *The Act of Self-Humbling*

Similar to the acceptance of a status as a slave, Christ's self-humility is also presented by the hymn as a voluntary action (Phil 2.8). In the case of Joseph, self-humility is not presented with the same generic description as it is in the hymn. Instead it is contained in a parenthetical section in which Joseph is made to present himself as an example of the benefits of possessing a humble heart, a condition for self-humiliation (10.1-2 - ταπεινώσει καρδίας). This is accentuated further in 10.5 when Joseph declares that at no time did he ever exalt himself in his heart

(οὐκ ὑψούμην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου), an action consistent with self-humility, and again in 17.8, where it is affirmed that he never exalted himself (οὐκ ὕψωσα ἑμαυτὸν).

The difference between Joseph and Christ, however, is that the manifestation of humility is not found so much in Joseph's obedience but in his choice to remain silent. Within the context of Joseph's denial of self-exaltation are descriptions of how he refused to bring his brothers into disgrace by choosing to keep silent and to endure much for their sake (10.6; 17.1). Thus just as Christ is portrayed in the hymn as one who voluntarily humbled himself in a way that was manifested in his obedience, Joseph is one who voluntarily humbled himself in a way that was manifested through his silent endurance.

E. *Obedience until Death*

In the hymn Christ's obedience is given a measure of degree by the preposition μέχρι. Obedience was an act carried out until death (Phil 2.8 - γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου). In *T. Joseph* the idea of obedience is conveyed through Joseph's longsuffering and endurance against the temptation to sin and violate God's commands (2.7 - μακροθυμία . . . ἡ ὑπομονή). Three times Joseph is described in the context of a situation threatening death and twice the degree of his obedience is measured by the temporal conjunction ἕως.[88] In 3.1 Joseph is threatened 'often' with death by the Egyptian woman because of his refusal to obey her rather than God (ποσάκις ἡ Αἰγυπτία ἠπείλησέ μοι θάνατον). In 3.9 the degree of his enduring obedience is described as such that it caused him to grieve until the point of death (ἐλυπήθην ἕως θανάτου) and in 11.3 he is said to have maintained his voluntary silence and position as a slave even under threats that extended to death (ἠπείλει μοι ἕως θανάτου). Unlike Christ, however, Joseph does not experience actual death during the acting out of his obedience. Nevertheless the imagery parallels the situation of Christ. By describing Joseph's willingness to remain obedient under the threat of death, it is easily assumed that this portrayal of Joseph was intended to communicate that he was also willing to accept death if necessary. Because the biblical story of Joseph records no martyrdom, the author of the *T. Joseph* could only expand the narrative so far without detracting from the integrity of the basic story. Thus Joseph receives numerous death threats but is never required to experience death.

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[88] BAGD, 334-35.

F. *Exaltation by God*

In response to Christ's obedience God exalted him from the status of a slave and gifted to him a name that was above all names. This exaltation not only elevated him to his previous status (μορφῇ θεοῦ) but also provided him with authority over all of creation (2.9).

In *T. Joseph* language of exaltation appears three times. The first occurrence is contained in the thanksgiving hymn that opens *T. Joseph* and contrasts the misfortunes that befell Joseph with the remedying actions of God. At the end of the hymn Joseph's misfortune of becoming a slave is contrasted by God's action of exalting him (1.7 -ἐν φθόνοις συνδούλων καὶ ὕψωσέ με). The second occurrence is found in the same parenthetical section that described how Joseph humbled himself (chap. 10). Here Joseph is made to tell the reader that when obedience to God is maintained, regardless of any misfortune they may encounter (even enslavement), God will exalt them because of their obedience:

> Κἂν τὶς περιπέσῃ . . . δουλείᾳ . . . (ὁ) κύριος . . .
> οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν κακῶν ῥύεται ἀλλά καὶ ὑψοῖ και δοξάζει
> αὐτον ὡς κἀμέ (10.3).
>
> and whatever should befall you, even slavery, the Lord will not only rescue you from these evils but he will also exalt and glorify you even as he did for me

Finally in 18.1 it is unequivocally stated that following the commands of God will result in exaltation by God:

> ἐὰν οὖν ὑμεῖς πορευθῆτε ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς κυρίου τέκνα μου
> ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς.
>
> Therefore, if you walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, he shall exalt you

These depictions of Joseph and Christ demonstrate that God exalts those who continue in obedience.

G. *The Position of Authority*

The final portion of the hymn described the implications of Christ's exaltation by recognizing that this new name and position gave him both authority and the right to receive homage (Phil 2.10-11). The *T. Joseph* reflects a similar incident by stating that after Joseph had been exalted God caused the Egyptians to serve Joseph (18.3 - ὅτι κύριος μοι αὐτοὺς ἐδούλωσεν). Joseph's story at this point is obviously not as

illustrious as Christ's but the parallelism is unmistakeable. Christ entered creation as a slave and was later given authority over creation. Joseph entered Egypt as a slave and was later given authority over it.

10.3.2 The Hymn within the Framework of Early Judaism

Through the above comparison it seems clear that both the hymn and *T. Joseph* are using a similar pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* as a way to describe the actions of their primary figures. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the *T. Joseph* is either the background of the hymn or had some type of prominent influence on the hymn's composition. Part One demonstrated that the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* may be identified in a variety of Jewish works as part of the wider slavery to God motif in early Judaism. Identification of this wider pattern explains why the hymn and the Isaian servant songs are similar. This pattern also explains how the hymn can allude to Isaiah 45.23 without necessarily being dependent upon Isaiah. The Isaian servant songs, *T. Joseph*, and the Philippian hymn are all examples of works that have been shaped around the Jewish pattern of slavery to God.

Consequently, what the above analysis represents is a comparison of patterns, not a dependency upon material. Thus while Christ and Joseph display parallel patterns of obedience towards God including the acceptance of a slave's status followed by exaltation, there are some differences. For instance, although Joseph is part of a famous family, which makes his enslavement contrary to that status, he obviously does not possess the μορφῇ θεοῦ. Moreover, his father Jacob cannot be compared to God in the hymn.

It is suggested, then, that the background to the hymn is not the Isaian servant songs or *T. Joseph* but a wider pattern already present in early Judaism and applied to the actions of Christ. The same suggestion can be made about the post-biblical figure of Joseph. Both the hymn and *T. Joseph* are representative works of two communities each with a different focus. Christ and Joseph are both figures who best reflect the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* and became paradigms of righteousness and obedience for the communities where the Philippian hymn and the *T. Joseph* were developed. When Paul incorporated the hymn into his epistle to the Philippians, he was not only using an established tradition about Christ, but was working within the established framework of the slave of God motif within early Judaism.

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10.3.2 The Hymn within the Framework of Early Judaism

Through the above comparison it seems clear that both the hymn and *T. Joseph* are using a similar pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* as a way to describe the actions of their primary figures. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the *T. Joseph* is either the background of the hymn or had some type of prominent influence on the hymn's composition. Part One demonstrated that the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* may be identified in a variety of Jewish works as part of the wider slavery to God motif in early Judaism. Identification of this wider pattern explains why the hymn and the Isaian servant songs are similar. This pattern also explains how the hymn can allude to Isaiah 45.23 without necessarily being dependent upon Isaiah. The Isaian servant songs, *T. Joseph*, and the Philippian hymn are all examples of works that have been shaped around the Jewish pattern of slavery to God.

Consequently, what the above analysis represents is a comparison of patterns, not a dependency upon material. Thus while Christ and Joseph display parallel patterns of obedience towards God including the acceptance of a slave's status followed by exaltation, there are some differences. For instance, although Joseph is part of a famous family, which makes his enslavement contrary to that status, he obviously does not possess the μορφῇ θεοῦ. Moreover, his father Jacob cannot be compared to God in the hymn.

It is suggested, then, that the background to the hymn is not the Isaian servant songs or *T. Joseph* but a wider pattern already present in early Judaism and applied to the actions of Christ. The same suggestion can be made about the post-biblical figure of Joseph. Both the hymn and *T. Joseph* are representative works of two communities each with a different focus. Christ and Joseph are both figures who best reflect the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* and became paradigms of righteousness and obedience for the communities where the Philippian hymn and the *T. Joseph* were developed. When Paul incorporated the hymn into his epistle to the Philippians, he was not only using an established tradition about Christ, but was working within the established framework of the slave of God motif within early Judaism.

10.4 The Hymn in the Context of the Epistle to the Philippians

The paradigmatic nature of the hymn's presentation of Christ raises questions about its function in the context of the Philippian epistle as a whole.[89] It is commonly recognized that the hymn serves as a governing metaphor in the epistle[90] and that the emphasis on Christ's obedience is paradigmatic for the letter as a whole.[91] A comparison of the Philippian epistle to the Greco-Roman 'letter of friendly moral exhortation,' sheds light on the hymn's function in the epistle as a whole.[92]

10.4.1 Greco-Roman Letters of Exhortation

The letter of friendly moral exhortation was typically used among friends or between superiors and inferiors in order to persuade readers to one action while dissuading from another.[93] According to S.K. Stowers, "superiors could be such not only in status or office but also in character or experience. In giving exhortation, a more experienced friend wrote to a less experienced friend."[94] The format of the letter assumed that readers already knew what was being advised. This in turn caused the author to forgo the need of further instruction and instead complimented them for what they were already doing and encouraging them to continue in their progress.[95] Provided in the letter were models of behaviour in the form of precepts or virtues that provided an implicit pattern of character. Very often the author would refer to historical and legendary personages as examples. "It was also not unusual for letter writers to appeal to living examples, including examples of the author's own behaviour that may be set forth for imitation."[96]

When the criterion of the 'letter of friendly moral exhortation' is measured against the Philippian correspondence, it is obvious similarities exist. Philippians contains two sections of exhortation each of which are very similar to one another

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[89] Some scholars have contended that in its present form Philippians does not represent one epistle but as many as three redacted together. This thesis assumes, however, that Philippians is one epistle. For a thorough treatment of the issues for and against the integrity of Philippians see: Garland 1985, 141-173.

[90] Perkins 1991, 95-98.

[91] Bloomquist 1993, 60-168; Stowers 1991, 119; Martin 1997, l-liv; Fee 1995, 50, 226-229; Hawthorne 1983, 97; O'Brien 1991, 272-273.

[92] Stowers, followed by others, has demonstrated that Philippians' structure is similar to the Greco-Roman letter of friendly moral exhortation. See: Stowers 1991, 107; Fee 1995, 11;/White 1990, 206.

[93] Stowers 1986, 94. For an explanation and examples of such letters from antiquity see "Epistolary Styles" by Pseudo-Libanius (4th to 6th Centuries C.E.); for text and translation see Malherbe 1988, 67-81.

[94] Stowers 1991, 108.

[95] Malherbe 1986, 125.

[96] Stowers 1986, 95.

and, when taken together, constitute one continuous exhortation broken up by a series of examples. In the first half of the exhortation (1.27-2.18) Paul encourages the Philippians to unite with one another and to be obedient to God. The second half (4.1-9) contains a similar exhortation of obedience towards God (4.1) and unity within the community (4.2-3). This is followed by further exhortations to be joyful (4.4-7) and to concentrate on things that will bring them peace with God (4.8-9). Between these hortatory sections Paul inserts examples for the readers to pattern themselves after: Christ (2.6-11), Timothy and Epaphroditus (2.19-30) and Paul (3.4-14).[97]

10.4.2 Patterns of Behaviour in Philippians

L. Gregory Bloomquist has pointed out that a "close observation of the recurrence of the language and imagery of 2.6-11 throughout the letter reveals the way the experience of Christ, the experience of Paul, and the experiences of Paul's co-workers are interwoven."[98] In these examples there is also a repetition of the language and imagery of the hymn that demonstrates how Paul and his co-workers reflect the virtues being exhorted. Paul and his co-workers serve as examples of how to behave like Christ and as examples of those who already do the things that are being exhorted.

A. *The Example of Christ*

When the immediate context of the hymn is examined, it is apparent that Paul used the hymn as a basis to support his exhortations to the Philippians.[99] In 2.1-4, Paul provides a list of virtues he wants the congregation to incorporate into their lives. These virtues are similar to the actions attributed to Christ in the hymn. In 2.3 there are exhortations not to do anything out of empty glory (κενοδοξίαν) but with humility to one another (ἀλλὰ τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους). Both exhortations contain imagery and linguistic parallels to the emptying (ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν) and self-humiliation of Christ in the hymn (ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν). Following the hymn and its example of Christ's obedience, the hortatory section continues in 2.12 beginning with a compliment of their ongoing obedience (καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε) followed by another exhortation to persist in this obedience (2.12-15). Once again, the allusions to Christ's actions in the hymn are unmistakeable

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[97] Fee 1995, 11-12.
[98] Bloomquist 1993, 164. See especially the comparison chart provided by Bloomquist on 165.
[99] Hawthorne 1996, 169.

(γενόμενος ὑπήκοος). The hortatory language is separated by the hymn which provides Christ as an example of these virtues.

Two reasons for the Philippians to maintain their obedience are given in 2.16. The first is wrapped up in the eschatological framework of the 'day of Christ' that finds expression both explicitly and implicitly throughout the letter.[100] In 1.6 the work of God goes on until the day of Christ (ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ); in 1.10 Paul prays that they will be found blameless in the day of Christ (εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ); 2.16 repeats the sentiment of 1.10 (εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ); and in 3.20 the Philippians are said to be waiting in expectation of that day (ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν).

The events of the day of Christ are explained in 3.21. Here the language of the hymn is used to compare the actions of Christ with the Philippian believers. At the day of Christ the believers' humble body will be transformed (μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν) and conformed to the body of Christ's glory (σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) which is a result of his authority over all things (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ). The repetition of the language in these passages is instantly recognizable. As R.J. Jewett has commented:

> The interplay of the terms ταπείνωσις and δόξα makes it clear that an *imitatio Dei* scheme underlies the argument in Phil 3.21. Just as in Phil 2.6-11 where Christ's ταπείνωσις was followed by δόξα, so the destiny of the individual Christian will be transformed from lowliness to glory.[101]

This is the exaltation of the humble and obedient Philippian believers. It will not be exaltation to a position of authority as happened to Christ, but to a position that conforms them to the way that Christ is portrayed in the hymn. Their exaltation is an eschatological hope that looks forward to the day when Christ will use his authority over creation to conform believers to be like him.[102] The hymn symbolizes for the Philippians not only a paradigm by which to live an obedient life, but also an element of hope for the future.[103] Similar to Christ's example, the believers are exhorted to

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[100] Fee 1995, 51.
[101] Jewett 1971, 252.
[102] Hooker 1990, 92.
[103] Ibid., 93.

empty and humble themselves, to remain obedient and to wait for the day when they will be exalted.[104]

The second reason for maintaining obedience given in 2.16 is that Paul does not want his efforts among the Philippians to yield empty results (ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα). This again reflects the emptying of Christ in the hymn and the exhortation in 2.3 that the Philippians do nothing from empty glory. It is Paul's hope that at the day of Christ, the Philippians will be found blameless and that his own work among them will be validated by their continuous obedience.

B. *The Example of Timothy*

Paul states two things about Timothy that make him an example to the Philippians. First, in 2.20-21 Paul claims that Timothy is the only one with whom he has a kindred soul (οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον). Such a claim makes Timothy a model of the virtues Paul has exhorted the Philippians to have in both 1.27 (μιᾷ ψυχῃ) and in 2.2 (σύμψυχοι).

Paul's description of Timothy's actions on behalf of the gospel also designates him as an example. It was noted above that Timothy's inclusion in the greeting with Paul as a δοῦλος Χριστοῦ in 1.1 is the only such occurrence among the undisputed epistles.[105] In 2.22 a second occurrence of the δοῦλος group is used in relation to Timothy and his work for the gospel (ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον). Bloomquist has argued that the hymn's use of slavery language in 2.7 should be understood in the context of the greeting in 1.1 and Timothy's actions here in 2.22.[106] This seems incorrect, however. In light of the way the hymn functions as a governing metaphor in the epistle and the fact that the Greco-Roman 'friendly letter of exhortation' routinely used examples to model behaviour, it seems best to understand the use of slave language in light of the hymn and not vice-versa. Timothy is a model of slavish devotion, or even obedience, to the gospel in the same way that it was displayed in Christ. The presentation of Timothy as an example is dependent on the exhortation that Paul makes to encourage certain virtues in 2.1-4 and on the implicit exhortation of the hymn to become a slave of God. Thus it is the actions of Christ in the hymn that Timothy now models as an expression of the gospel.[107]

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[104] O'Brien 1991, 467.
[105] Similar statements are made in Colossians. In 1.13 Epaphras is called Paul and Timothy's fellow slave (συνδούλου ἡμῶν) as is Tychicus in 4.7 (σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ).
[106] Bloomquist 1993, 164.
[107] Hawthorne 1996, 175.

C. *The Example of Epaphroditus*

Similar to Timothy, the actions and example of Epaphroditus are also presented in relation to the hymn and the work of the gospel. In 2.25-30, Paul explains that Epaphroditus has been of great benefit in the work of the gospel and in meeting Paul's personal needs. During this period of devoted service, however, Epaphroditus became ill and almost died (2.26-27). In response to the Philippians' concern for him, Paul has sent him back to Philippi. Epaphroditus is to be received with joy by the congregation because he laboured for Christ even up till the point of death (ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισεν). Just as the hymn presents Christ as obedient until the point of death with the preposition μέχρι, so also Paul uses μέχρι to describe Epaphroditus as working in service of the gospel until the point of death.

D. *The Example of Paul*

Like other writers of friendly exhortation in the Greco-Roman world, Paul provides himself as an example to be imitated by his readers. It has been noted that in 3.4-14 Paul provides a kind of curriculum vitae that demonstrates his own congruity with the pattern set forth by Christ in the hymn.[108] In 3.4-6, Paul explains his former advantage of position as a Jew and his blamelessness in the law before God. In 3.7- 8, however, Paul describes how he considered those things lost in light of knowing Jesus Christ as Lord (τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου). This is followed in 3.10 by an image from the hymn where Paul declares his desire to be conformed to Christ's death (συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ). Intertwined with this is Paul's longing for the resurrection, a reward that he has not yet obtained, but one for which he is willing to neglect everything in his past so that he may be conformed to Christ and ultimately gain his own exaltation in the resurrection (3.13 - τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος). Whatever position or claims he may have had in the past, Paul claims not to have used them to his advantage. Like Christ, Paul sees a greater advantage in not exalting himself, but waiting in expectation for his exaltation by God in the eschatological resurrection (3.11 - εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν).

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[108] Fee 1995, 314; Hawthorne 1996, 173; Käsemann 1968, 64; Wright 1986, 347.

F. *Imitation of These Examples by the Philippians*

Paul's intention for the Philippians to incorporate into their own lives the examples of Christ, his co-workers and himself is evident by the transitional verbs used between the hortatory and narrative sections. In the first hortatory section (1.27-2.18), the interjection of the hymn is introduced in 2.5 with an imperative phrase inviting the Philippians to have the same attitude that existed in Christ (τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). Although elliptical, the transitional function of the sentence between the list of virtues (2.1-4) and the hymn (2.6-11) "demonstrates that the narrative that follows is intentionally paradigmatic."[109] Despite the rejection of this interpretation by some like Käsemann and Martin,[110] there seems to be good grounds for it. As O'Brien has pointed out, the key verb φρονέω not only dominates v.5 but is also an intricate part of the preceding exhortations (appearing twice in v.2) and is certainly related to the ταπεινοφροσύνῃ of verse 3.[111] As a result the phrase τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν in v.5 refers back to the exhortations given in vv.1-4 and is joined by the phrase ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ to complete an introductory statement for the hymn: "Have these virtues in your own lives the same way that they were displayed in Christ" or "Pattern your life in the same way that Christ did his own."

The next transition occurs in 3.15 where φρονέω appears again, this time as a hortatory subjunctive (τοῦτο φρονῶμεν). It is striking that Paul ends the narrative about himself with the same phrase that he used at the start of the narrative about Christ in 2.5. The "τοῦτο" of 3.15 undoubtedly refers back to all that Paul has just rehearsed about himself in 3.4-14.[112] By repeating the phrase, Paul encapsulates the examples of Christ, Timothy, Epaphroditus and himself between two bookend phrases, 'have this attitude.' Now he asks the Philippians to join with him (and presumably the other examples) in having this same attitude.

Paul does not stop here, however. His desire that the Philippians imitate the models he has offered is reflected further in the imperative phrase συμμιμηταί

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[109] Fee 1995, 199.

[110] Käsemann and Martin have rejected the 'ethical interpretation' of the hymn and therefore also reject the notion that verse 5 is a call to imitation. Martin concludes that Christ's actions are only intended to move the hymn along and do not represent patterns of behavior to which readers should conform. "The Apostolic summons is not: Follow Jesus by doing as he did – an impossible feat in any case, for who can be a 'second Christ' who quits his heavenly glory and dies in shame and is taken up into the throne of the universe?" (Käsemann, 1968, 83-84; Martin 1997, xii-xix, 290).

[111] O'Brien 1991, 204.

[112] Fee 1995, 356.

μου γίνεσθε (3.17). Not only does Paul want them to have the same attitude as he and his co-workers, he wants them to imitate him and others as a pattern to be followed (ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς). At the conclusion of the examples section, Paul has requested that the pattern (τύπος) he has laid out for them (by describing the activities of Christ, Timothy, Epaphroditus and himself) be the one that they adopt in their own lives.[113] This is emphasized again in 4.9 at the end of the final hortatory section where Paul briefly offers himself as an example for a second time. However, instead of the φρονέω terminology used in the transition sections, he prefers a fourfold combination of καὶ with aorist verbs (ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ εἴδετε) to elaborate how the Philippians had observed his example (ἐν ἐμοί). He then finishes with an aorist imperative that exhorts them to practice these things (ταῦτα πράσσετε).

Finally, at the conclusion of all the examples and patterns, one may ask what it was that Paul ultimately wanted the Philippians to imitate? In view of the prominence of the language and imagery of the hymn, the answer is undoubtedly the pattern displayed by Christ. The emphasis on Christ's obedience in the hymn is paradigmatic for the whole epistle. Just as Christ displayed the pattern of *Humility-Obedience-Exaltation*, the Philippians should conduct their lives in the same way by placing an emphasis on the need to be obedient to God. Paul's exhortation is that they humble themselves (2.3), remain obedient (1.10; 2.12-16; 3.16; 4.1), and wait in anticipation for their exaltation on the day of Christ when they will participate in the eschatological resurrection (1.6; 1.10; 2.15; 3.10-12, 20-21). True Paul has offered himself and others as examples to follow, but Paul and his companions were modelling behavior they imitated from Christ. Thus Paul's exhortation that he be imitated is not centered on him, but on Christ's behavior that he in turn models for the Philippians.

10.5 Paul's Self-Identification as Slave of Christ in Philippians 1.1

It is now possible to examine Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ and to ask why it replaced the more traditional phrase slave of God. As noted above, of the three times Paul calls himself a δοῦλος χριστοῦ the greeting in Philippians 1.1 is the only instance in which he includes someone else in that identification.[114] Timothy's inclusion with Paul in 1.1 as a δοῦλος χριστοῦ combined with the

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[113] Hawthorne 1996, 177.

description of him in 2.22 as one who (ἐδούλευσεν) 'served the gospel' is suggestive. The characteristics that Paul intended to communicate about Timothy by identifying him with slavery language were also what he wanted to convey about himself. The description of Timothy was part of a series of examples used by Paul to illustrate attitudes that the Philippians were to imitate including the pattern attributed to Christ in the hymn. If Timothy's actions in 2.22 as one who provided slavish devotion to the gospel mirror Christ's identification as a δοῦλος in 2.7, then it seems likely that the key to understanding the phrase δοῦλος χριστοῦ in 1.1 can also be derived from the hymn.[115]

10.5.1 Christ as the Paradigmatic Slave of God

In the hymn Christ is portrayed as having become the slave of God by virtue of his acceptance of this position and his subsequent act of obedience. Yet God's response to Christ's obedience was to exalt him to a position of authority over all creation. This position not only provided Christ the ability to exercise authority it also located that authority in the title of "Lord" which obligated creation to render obeisance to Christ. In Jewish literature, this position had been reserved exclusively for YHWH.[116] In the hymn, however, God is seen to have handed this authority over to Christ who in turn exercises it on behalf of and to the glory of God (2.11). Christ is the ultimate effector of the believer's life and it is in obedient anticipation of the eschatological resurrection at the 'day of Christ' that believers wait for him to exercise his authority over creation and transform them. Consequently, Christ has authority over as well as representing transforming significance for believers, and he displays a pattern that emphasizes obedience to God. This authority makes him an object of obedience and therefore one becomes a slave of Christ in order to be obedient to God. By obeying Christ and living under his exalted position of authority, one is ultimately obeying God. Thus in Philippians 'slave of Christ' represents a nuance of the 'slave of God' tradition found in early Judaism by placing the Christ event within the context of that tradition. The use of this title by Paul does not represent a replacement of the slave of God tradition; rather, it is a way of explaining how that tradition is interpreted in light of the Christ event. Christ is the paradigmatic slave of God and through obedience to the authority of the exalted Christ believers

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[114] See also Rom 1.1; Gal 1.10.
[115] This was also the approach taken by Vincent (1897, 3).
[116] See the above analysis of 2.10-11, 21 (§ 10.2.7).

fulfill their obligation of obedience to God. Slave of God is not merely an honorary title that Paul has adapted from the prophets and substituted the name of Christ for God. It is an identification of the one whom Paul obeys.[117] Paul is the slave of God and Christ.

10.5.2 The Philippians as the Slaves of Christ

If the above suggestions are accepted, than it is also possible to conclude that Paul's exhortation to the Philippians was an implicit call to act as slaves of Christ. The genre of Philippians as a letter of friendly moral exhortation may be compared in both tactic and purpose to some of the Jewish literature examined in Part One. Though not of the same genre as Philippians, *4 Maccabees* and the *Testaments of Joseph* and *Benjamin* all attempt to persuade the readers towards one course of action while dissuading them from others. By providing historical and legendary examples of behavior, the authors of these documents illustrated for readers what they considered to be proper behavior and exhorted them to imitate these examples as a way to achieve the same. In every case the purpose of the exhortations and the examples was to ensure that readers would fulfill their obligation of obedience to God, which was the defining factor of the Jewish self-identification as slaves of God.[118] In the same way, Paul's call for his readers to imitate Christ and himself is a call to be obedient to God and, in light of the Christ event, to be slaves of Christ.

10.5.3 Slavery and Royal Ideology

At first glance it appears that what Paul and the early Christians have done is to alter the Jewish slave of God tradition rather than interpret the Christ event as development of that tradition. Declaring themselves to be the slaves of Christ instead of the slaves of God would seem to point in this direction. However, Christ's role as the paradigmatic slave of God who has others enslaved to him is analogous to the role of the king in ancient Israel. It was noted in Part One that the Israelite king, as the agent of God on earth, like his people, was regarded as a slave of God and, in this capacity, was expected to serve God and lead the people in loyal obedience to God.[119] As a model of obedience and conduct for the people, the king was intended to exemplify what it meant to be a slave of God. People living under the rule of a king

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[117] See a summary of this view along with a list of those who suggest it in the Introduction (§ 1.1.1).
[118] See the conclusion of Part One.
[119] See above § 3.3.5.

were often designated as the king's slaves.[120] Israelites were the slaves of God and of their king with obligations for loyal service to both. The king, however, was intended to be the embodiment of slavery to God and to lead his own slaves in fulfilling the requirements of service to God. By being loyal slaves of the king and imitating his example, people also acted as loyal slaves to God. This is also true of Christ. His authority and acquisition of the divine name 'Lord' designates him as God's representative. Those under his authority are his slaves and fulfill their obedience to God by obeying Christ. Thus Christ has not replaced God as the ultimate object of enslavement but has filled the role as God's agent of slavery on earth.

Finally, it is impossible to know to what degree, if any, the Philippians were aware of the slave of God tradition in Judaism. Paul's use of the hymn, however, renders this question moot. The fact that the hymn is overwhelmingly paradigmatic for the epistle as a whole means that the Philippians did not need to be aware of the background of the hymn but only had to replicate the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* exemplified by Christ, Paul and his co-workers. The intention of the epistle was not to educate the Philippians about an important Jewish tradition, but to exhort them to behavior that reflected their obedience to God. Furthermore, it is equally impossible to assume that the appearance of slave terminology in the letter is a reflection of the Greco-Roman institution being superimposed by Paul on himself and Christ. There is nothing in Philippians that indicates implicitly or explicitly Paul has institutional imagery in mind when identifying himself, Timothy and Christ as slaves. The overwhelming thrust of the letter is an exhortation to imitate a pattern that emphasizes obedience to God. Perhaps, it may be argued that some, if not all, of the believers in Philippi reflected on the institution of slavery when slavery terms were first encountered. But such images would not be required once the paradigmatic nature of the epistle was understood and applied to a community that was striving to obey God under the authority of the exalted Christ. Paul's rhetorical strategy is so unmistakable that it would have overridden the force of slavery as an institution in the readers' minds.

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[120] This was seen to also be the case with Moses and the prophets. All of these were designated as slaves of God and those under them were designated as slaves. This did not imply, however, that these 'slaves' ceased at anytime from also being the slaves of God. (See above §2.1).

Chapter 11

Slavery and Freedom in the Epistle to the Galatians

Having determined how Paul understood both the figure of Christ and himself within the framework of the Jewish slave of God tradition, it is now possible to examine how Paul expresses this elsewhere. Galatians contains the second highest occurrence of slavery terms in the Pauline corpus. This is significant not only because of what it conveys about Paul but also because it provides an opportunity to discover how Paul's detractors in Galatia may have understood what it meant to be a slave of Christ. This makes it important to consider the situation behind Galatians first.

The situation at Galatia may be summarized as follows. There existed in Galatia a group of Jewish believers who opposed the way that Paul administered the gospel. These 'opponents' claimed to have authority from Jerusalem to either correct or 'complete' Paul's gospel and to integrate his converts more fully into the covenant community as heirs of Abraham.[1] This 'completion' of the gospel involved the apparent requirement that the Galatians accept circumcision and Torah. These demands were supported through the exegesis of OT texts and appeals to the promises of the Abrahamic covenant to which they appended the stipulations given at Mt. Sinai. According to the opponents, those who did not obey the law were not true heirs of Abraham and thus not fully part of Christ. They viewed Abraham as the father of all proselytes and urged Gentiles to follow Abraham's example by becoming circumcised.[2] Paul addresses these agitators with a highly polemical letter in which he responds to their argument with a defense of his gospel and his apostleship by labeling their teaching as 'another gospel' and accusing them of trying to enslave the Galatians (2.4). In an exegetical *tour de force* he seeks to correct and reverse the exegesis of his opponents in chapters 3 and 4, using their own texts against them to support his counter claims.[3] Paul argues that the identification of the Galatians with

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[1] Dunn 1993, 10; Martyn 1997, 12-20; Hays 2000, 185; Longenecker 2000, 25-33. For an earlier survey of the history of the possible identity of Paul's agitators at Galatia see: Jewett 1971, 198-212.
[2] Hays 2000, 186.
[3] Barrett 1985, 22-31. Betz, on the other hand, considers Galatians to be an 'apologetic' epistle and Paul's strategy as representative of the common form of rhetoric found in such documents including the calling of 'witnesses' and the use of scripture as 'evidence' (1979, 14, 137ff). While Betz's assessment of the structure of Galatians is probably correct, it does not negate Barrett's suggestion that

Abraham should be based on faith.[4] Crucial to the argument is Paul's ability "to 'prove' that the Galatians are legitimate 'sons of Abraham' (since they share his faith) and that the promises of Abraham are in direct line of continuity with the 'faith' and 'blessing' of Gentile Christians."[5] It is in this highly charged atmosphere of exegetical sparring that slavery language plays an important role.

Of the twelve occurrences of slavery language and imagery in Galatians, eight of them are found between 4.1 and 5.1.[6] It is sometimes assumed that this was a result of Paul's borrowing of images from Greco-Roman institutions in order to illustrate that the law of Moses is a form of slavery when compared to the freedom found in Christ. While this is the direction of Paul's argument, the interpretation of how he uses slavery language has been fraught with difficulties. Rather than approach slavery in Galatians through the Greco-Roman prism, a more plausible interpretation may be suggested once it is understood that Paul is engaged in an exegetical polemic against his opponents and is seeking to deflect the accusation that Gentile believers are the 'illegitimate sons of slaves'. The method of approach will be consistent with Philippians: The function of slavery language in the epistle as a whole will be examined first and then Paul's reference to himself as a Χριστοῦ δοῦλος in 1.10.

11.1 Images of Slavery in 4.1-10

11.1.1 The Problem of παιδαγωγὸς

The chief obstacle to a clear interpretation of slavery language in Galatians, in the opinion of this author, has been Paul's use of παιδαγωγὸς ('pedagogue') as a way of describing the function of the law before Christ (3.24-25). In Greco-Roman society a pedagogue was usually a household slave. However, a pedagogue could also be someone purchased or hired to provide supervisory guardianship and educational training to children of a wealthy family.[7] The pedagogue was intended to serve as a moral guide. Children were expected to obey the pedagogue and were

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the choice of scriptures were not Paul's but his opponents'. It is not unlikely that Paul's 'apologetic' letter used his opponents 'evidence' against them in order to make his own case.

[4] Barclay 1988, 92, 94.

[5] Ibid., 96.

[6] 1.10; 2.4; 3.28; 4.1, 3, 7, 8-9, 24-25; 5,1, 13.

[7] For a general discussion of the function of the pedagogue in antiquity, See Marrou 1956, 220-22; Bonner 1977, 34-46. For a discussion of Paul's use of the pedagogue metaphor see Bertram 1967, 5: 620-21; Lull 1986, 481-498; Young 1987, 150-176; and Gordon 1989, 150-54.

often subjected to punishment for failure to meet the pedagogue's expectations.[8] Due to the slave status and potential cruelty of some pedagogues towards children who were future heirs of the household, some scholars have concluded that this imagery, when read together with discussions of inheritance in 4.1-7, is an extension of the pedagogue illustration from chapter 3.[9] Thus, as long as the child is a minor (humanity) and under the tutorship of the pedagogue (the Law), he is no different than a household slave (4.1).[10] But the view that the argumentation in 3.24-25 extends into 4.1-7 is complicated particularly in relation to the language being used in verses 1-2.

Many have assumed that in 4.1-2 Paul is drawing on an illustration from the Greco-Roman concept of testamentary guardianship.[11] The appearance of key terms such as νήπιος, κληρονόμος, ἐπίτροπος and πατήρ would seem to confirm this interpretation.[12] The apparent attractiveness of a Greco-Roman background in verses 1-2 has led Barrett to conclude that in spite of the exegetical sparring between Paul and his opponents over scriptural references, these "fall away in chapter 4 where Paul turns to a non-biblical analogy."[13] There are, however, several important discontinuities between the illustration in verses1-2, the Greco-Roman background and the way that Paul goes on to apply it in verses 4-7.

First, the apparent description of the heir receiving more than one tutor in 4.1 is possible, but the association of ἐπίτροπος and οἰκονόμος to describe the tutors is awkward. The former is the legally required term for 'tutor', but the latter is an administrative term that was never associated with guardianship.[14] Second, Paul says the guardianship lasts until the time set by the father (ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας

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[8] Young 1987, 162.
[9] Betz 1979, 176; In-Gyu Hong 1993, 160, 164.
[10] R.N. Longenecker 1990, 162. In contrast to the often negative view of many commentators, Dunn views the role of the pedagogue in 3.24-25 as positive and argues that "the positiveness of the child's status should not be lost sight of" in 4.1-7 (1993, 198-99, 211). Similarly, B.W. Longenecker points out that Paul's illustration of the pedagogue was not necessarily intended to portray the law negatively but to highlight its supervisory role (2000, 126-28).
[11] Oepke's summary of the verses is representative: "Paulus hat hier wohl den minderjäahrigen Sohn eines verstorbenen reichen Mannes im Auge, der der Vormundschaft untersteht, bis er das vom Vater im Testament für die Mündigkeitserklärung festgesetzte Alter erreicht hat" (1973, 127). See also Betz 1979, 202.
[12] Longenecker 1990, 162. For a discussion of the Greco-Roman law and the continuity and discontinuity it has with Galatians see: Hester 1967, 118-125.
[13] Barrett 1976, 1-16.
[14] Betz argues that if Paul had wanted to use the two existing legal institutions for guardianship, he should have used κουράτωρ as the second term. He suggests that Paul's association of the two terms may have come about because of the mention of slavery, "since οἰκονόμος ('administrator') can designate the supervisor of slaves" (1979, 202-203).

τοῦ πατρός), but this is highly unusual because the time frame for guardianship was normally set by the government and not by the father.[15] Third, as J. C. O'Neill has pointed out "The images employed in verses 1-3, on the one hand, and verses 4-7, on the other hand, are strictly incompatible."[16] In verses 1-3 the heir, who is under guardianship while a minor, is little more than a slave (οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου), although at the same time master of all (κύριος πάντων ὤν) and freed on an appointed day (ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός). In verses 4-7 a slave is ransomed (ἐξαγοράση) and adopted as a son (υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν). The slave of 4-7 is an actual slave (οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος) unlike the minor who only has a slave's status in verses 1-3. Verse 7 explicitly states that the slave becomes an heir only after adoption (ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος) while the heir in verses1-3 was always an heir despite his temporary enslavement.[17] O'Neil concludes that Paul cannot be responsible for the incompatibility and that "the whole section [has] been glossed heavily by two different hands, one responsible for verses 1-3, 8-10, and the other responsible for verses 4f." O'Neill's ultimate view may not be correct, but his description of the problem shows how difficult it is to connect the logic verses1-3 with that of verses 4-7.

The above overview demonstrates that attempts to interpret 4.1-7 as an extension of the pedagogue illustration in 3.24-25 are not satisfactory. In response to these difficulties James M. Scott has suggested a different interpretation for 4.1-7, not in relation to the Greco-Roman background of testamentary guardianship, but against a background of Exodus imagery.[18] Scott's argument is extensive, but because it provides an important key to the approach of the present thesis to Galatians, his argument is summarized below.[19]

11.1.2 Exodus Imagery in Galatians 4.1-7

Scott's work focuses primarily on the background for divine adoption in the Pauline corpus. He derives the language of adoption in Galatians 4.1-7 from a Jewish

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[15] Watson 1967, 139. Hester maintains that the situation in verses 1-2 "is not legitimate", and suggests that perhaps Paul was not referring to a sense of "full-blown guardianship in the sense of tutor-curatorship" but to a situation in which the son is dependent upon the managers of the father's estate for support (1967, 122). Betz points to some instances where this situation might be possible, but concludes that Paul was more interested in the application than the illustration "and that application caused him to make the illustration to conform to it" (1979, 204).

[16] O'Neill 1972, 56.

[17] Ibid., 59.

[18] Scott 1992.

tradition that took up the adoption formula in 2 Samuel 7.14 and applied it eschatologically either to the messiah (4QFlor 1.11), to Israel (*Jub*. 1.24), or to both (*T. Jud.* 24.3).[20] This tradition, according to Scott, represented the way that 2 Samuel 7.14 was understood in the context of the return and restoration of the eschatological Israel, not only in relation to the coming Messiah, but to the people of God as a whole.[21]

After establishing the context of adoption language in early Judaism, Scott turns his attention to Galatians 4.1-7. He argues that the internal structure of the passage demonstrates its unity (*contra* O'Neill) by virtue of the double occurrence of the terms κληρονόμος and δοῦλος in both verses 1 and 7, which binds the section as an *inclusio*.[22] He then goes on to discuss six 'facts' that have been overlooked and are crucial to understanding the passage, in particular verses 1-2 which he contends holds the hermeneutical key to the whole passage.[23] Given the significance for the present discussion, they are summarized below:

1. Because scholars have limited their examination of ἐπίτροπος against the background of Greco-Roman guardianship, they have neglected the existing evidence of a possible Palestinian Jewish Law of Guardianship.[24]

2. Scholars have overlooked the possibility that the ὁ κληρονόμος in 4.1 is the one identified as the "seed of Abraham" in 3.29. The change from the plural κληρονόμοι in 3.29 to the singular κληρονόμος in 4.1 could be because Paul now turns his attention to collective Israel.[25]

3. "It is illegitimate to point to νήπιος as evidence that Galatians 4.1-2 refers to legal guardianship." Unlike ἀφῆλιξ, νήπιος is not a technical term for a minor. Furthermore, in the Pauline corpus νήπιος occurs only in ethical and spiritual contexts that indicate the need for instruction and moral guidance.[26] Instead of guardianship Scott suggests that νήπιος in 4.1 probably alludes to Hosea 11.1 where the LXX refers to Israel as 'young' at the time of the Exodus when God called his 'son' Israel out of Egypt.[27] When combined with

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[19] A Summary and analysis of Scott's hypothesis can be found in Sylvia C. Keesmaat who has adopted Scott's approach Galatians (1999, 155-67).
[20] Scott 1992, 104; Keesmaat 1999, 158.
[21] Scott 1992, 114.
[22] Scott also points out that the structure is "in the form of a comparison, in which vv.1-2 comprise the so-called 'illustration' and vv.3-7 the 'application' introduced by οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς". The complexity of this comparison is confirmed, Scott argues, by the repetition of several terms in the passage (1992, 121-22).
[23] Scott 1992, 126.
[24] Ibid., 126-28.
[25] Scott notes that a similar collective use of in the singular form of κληρονόμος also occurs in Romans 4.13 (129).
[26] Ibid.
[27] Hosea 11.1 -Διότι νήπιος Ισραηλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα

the hypothesis of the singular κληρονόμος in 4.1 as a collective for Israel, correlation is found with the singular use of νήπιος.[28] "Hence νήπιος in Galatians 4.1 might well allude to Hosea 11.1, in order to recall both the traditional divine sonship imagery connected with the Exodus and the temporal nature of being νήπιος."[29] If correct, then Paul was not concerned with Greco-Roman guardianship laws, but with an Old Testament/Jewish tradition.[30]

4. The expression κύριος πάντων is an honorific title (*Hoheitstitel*) used to designate one with universal sovereignty. Scott suggests that in Galatians 4.1 the title is in the context of the heirs of the Abrahamic promise. Judaism interpreted the Abrahamic promise of land as an eschatological hope that Israel would inherit and rule the world.[31] Thus the heirs of Abraham are bound for universal sovereignty.[32]

5. The combination of ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοι makes it improbable that ἐπιτρόπος denotes the idea of guardian in 4.2. While ἐπιτρόπος is often used for 'guardian', οἰκονόμος does not fit the picture of Greco-Roman guardianship. Based on Greek, Roman and Hellenistic Jewish usage, the combination of the terms probably refers to subordinate state officials and is also used as official titles in Galatians 4.2.[33] Scott proposes that in the context of Exodus imagery these officials are the Egyptian taskmasters who oversaw Israelite enslavement. Based on a review of the LXX, Philo, and Josephus it is clear that an exact title for these masters had not yet been fixed by the time of the NT. However, ἐπιτρόπος does appear in Josephus in relation to a taskmaster under Solomon (*Ant.* 8.59) and in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Genesis 41.35 where it is an Aramaic loan word to describe one of Pharaoh's officials.[34] Therefore, it is quite possible that Paul used the combination of ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοιto describe the taskmasters in Egypt.

6. Scholarship has overlooked the fact that προθεσμία (4.2) is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT and not a technical term denoting the date set by the father for the termination of guardianship. It is mostly used in a rather general sense for 'set dates' or 'predetermined time limits.' Scott concludes, then, that

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τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. Scott's understanding of τέκνα ('children') for υἱός ('son') can be supported by Matthew 2.15.

[28] Keesmaat regards Scott's suggestion concerning Paul's use of Hosea 11.1 as plausible, but does not think that it is an intentional allusion but is an echo of a text which is part of a matrix of ideas connected to the Exodus event (1999, 159).

[29] Cf. Exod 4.22; Deut 1.31, 14.1; Isa 63.16; Wis 18.13; *M. Abot* 3.14 (citing Deut 14.1).

[30] Scott 1992, 130.

[31] This finds agreement with Romans 4.13 which says :"Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου". Here the singular use of κληρονόμος to designate the plural "seed of Abraham" corresponds with its usage in Galatians 4.1.

[32] Scott 1992, 130-35.

[33] Ibid., 135-140.

[34] Scott's appeal to *Targum Pseudo-Jonathon* is complicated due to its late dating. The problem is that Aramaic contemporary to the NT Greek is almost never transliterated by Aramaic. Transliteration is a feature of later texts (see Fitmyer 1979, 40-42). More important for Scott's argument, then, is the evidence from Josephus. At most *Targum Pseudo-Jonathon* indicates a tradition of some Jewish literature using ἐπιτρόποι to identify the taskmasters in Egypt (Scott, 144-45).

> without any indisputable evidence for the guardianship view of Galatians 4.1-2, προθεσμία probably refers back to 3.17, which alludes to the time that God had foretold to Abraham that Israel would be in bondage. "Since many commentators recognize that λέγω δέ (v.1), resumes and elaborates on a subject from the previous context, the προθεσμία τοῦ πατρός probably refers to the nearest specific period of time mentioned so far in Galatians – the 430 years between the Abrahamic promise and the Mosaic law. Thus, in a sense, λέγω δέ (4.1) resumes τοῦτο δὲ λέγω (3.17)."[35]

In light of these observations, Scott suggests that the proper interpretation of 4.1-2 is Israel's time of slavery in Egypt and their redemption by God as 'Father'. The exegesis is summarized as follows: (1) Israel was νήπιος during the sojourn in Egypt (v. 1);[36] (2) Israel was a slave in Egypt under the officials (ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους vv. 1b-2a);[37] (3) Israel was a slave in Egypt, although, as heir to the Abrahamic promise, the nation was entitled to universal sovereignty (v. 1c); (4) Israel was a slave in Egypt until the 430 years which God foreordained to Abraham were completed; and (5) at that time God the Father redeemed Israel as his son from bondage in Egypt (v. 2b).[38]

Galatians 4.1-2 is not, therefore, a description of Greco-Roman guardianship, but of a particular period in the history of Israel that sets up a type and antitype that is completed in verses 3-7. Scott refers to this imagery as a 'Second Exodus' that was expected by Israel and includes all of the believers at Galatia.[39] The following exegesis by Scott of 4.3-7 outlines the parallels of Exodus imagery between verses 1-2 and verses 3-7.

1. In 4.3 the repetition of νήπιοι and δοῦλος links the experience of the Galatians with that of Israel. "Paul typologically likens the slavery of Israel under the taskmasters in Egypt to the enslavement of both Jews and Gentiles under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου."[40] There is a heightening of the type over the antitype so that both the enslaving power and the redemption is universalized.[41]

2. Scott connects the expression τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου in v. 4 to several Jewish and Christian texts where a predetermined time is linked with the coming of the messiah.[42] The parallel to this expression is the προθεσμία τοῦ πατρός in 4.2, which shows that both enslavements were for

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[35] Scott, 140-42.
[36] Ibid., 145.
[37] Ibid., 146.
[38] Ibid., 147.
[39] Ibid., 149-50.
[40] More will be said in conjunction with enslavement under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου below in § 11.1.3 and 11.1.4.
[41] Scott 1992, 157.
[42] Cf. Jer 36.10 LXX; 2 *Bar.* 2.98; Tob 14.5 BA; 1QpHab 7.12-14; Mark 1.15.

a preordained time and that redemption was "according to God's own timetable."[43]

3. In 4.4 the sending of God's son is parallel to God's sending of Moses to the Israelites. Scott argues that the widespread Jewish tradition stemming from Deuteronomy 18.15 expected that the coming messiah would be a Second Moses who would redeem the people from oppression.[44] This possibility is supported by an appeal to 1 Corinthians 10.1-2 where, in the context of Exodus typology, Moses and Christ are parallel figures.[45]

4. The sending of the son in 4.5 was to bring release to those under the law. According to Scott, both Jews and gentiles were redeemed from the curse of the law, the yoke of slavery (ζυγὸς δουλείας 5.1), just as Israel was freed from the yoke of Egypt. Redemption, however, was not the ultimate goal, but adoption (υἱοθεσία).[46] In the context of the Second-Exodus and the sending of Christ as the Second Moses, υἱοθεσία in Galatians 4.5 alludes to the eschatological expectation in Jewish tradition that linked the adoption formula in 2 Samuel 7.14 with the Messiah and collective Israel.[47] This adoption allows a participation in the messianic sonship that is illustrated by the call "Abba, Father" (4.6).[48]

Scott's analysis of Galatians 4.1-7 is attractive for several reasons. First, in the context of Paul's exegetical argument with the opponents concerning who were the sons of Abraham, moving from a discussion of the 'Abrahamic promise' to the 'Exodus story' would have been natural. Indeed, the Exodus event is linked in the Jewish scriptures many times to the promise made to Abraham and declared to be a result of the covenant made with God (Ex 2.24; 3.25-36; 6.2-9; Ps 105.37-42).[49] Second, in the context of the Exodus story, adoption has a parallelism with a similar idea in Exodus 4.22-23. Here God calls Israel 'son' and demands that Pharaoh release Israel so that 'my son may serve me' (4.23 -אֵלֶיךָ שַׁלַּח אֶת־בְּנִי וְיַעַבְדֵנִי).[50] Third, because the central issue between Paul and the opponents was Torah, it is probable that the

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[43] Scott 1992, 160-61, 165.
[44] Ibid., 165.
[45] Scott also points out that in the LXX ἀποστέλλειν and ἐξαποστέλλειν are used most frequently for the sending of a prophet, especially Moses (1992, 167).
[46] It is noteworthy that the only two occurrences of the verb ἐξαγοράζω in Paul is Galatians 3.13 and 4.5, which in the context of Exodus imagery corresponds nicely with Exodus 6.6 where the idea of God 'buying back' Israel also occurs (The LXX, however, drops the idea of redemption and opts instead for 'rescue'). In Greco-Roman slave terminology ἀγοράζω describes not the 'purchase of a slave in order to be granted freedom' but the sale of a slave from one master to another (Bartchy, 124 n.450). This also coincides nicely with the Exodus theme that Israel was released from Pharaoh to be enslaved to God.
[47] Scott 1992, 174-78.
[48] Ibid., 182.
[49] Keesmaat 1999, 178.

Exodus event would have been appealed to because of its connection with Sinai and the giving of the law. In order for Paul to proceed from the Abraham material to the allegory later in the chapter (4. 21-31), an allusion to the Exodus and Sinai events would not only have been natural, but would also have contributed to a logical progression in the argument.

In the context of slavery images, Scott's analysis leads to the following conclusions: (1) Slavery language in the passage is not a change of imagery in the argument, but is part of the orderly flow. Just as it can no longer be argued that Paul is referring to Greco-Roman guardianship in 4.1-7, it may also be argued that he is not alluding to aspects institutional slavery because slavery language in the passage is actually linked to the Exodus imagery. (2) Slavery language in 4.1-7 cannot be connected to the παιδαγωγὸς ('pedagogue') in 3.24-25. Without this connection the pedagogue is unable to exert the influence the term has had on the interpretation of 4.1-7. Certainly Paul's use of the pedagogue in 3.24-25 derives from Greco-Roman imagery, but the most that should be concluded from this is that it was a convenient throwaway line used by Paul to describe the function of the law before the Christ event. While guardianship could be the best possible understanding of the term in Galatians,[51] the temptation to connect it to slavery terms in later passages or to interpret it as a governing metaphor should be resisted.

11.1.3 Enslavement to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου 4.3, 8-9

Before proceeding, the idea of enslavement to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4.3, 8-9) demands a separate treatment. The meaning of στοιχεῖα in this passage has been a major interpretive issue culminating in a variety of alternative meanings including: the fundamental principles of all religion prior to Christ,[52] the four material elements of creation,[53] spirits or angels who were set over the four elements,[54] evil spirits,[55] life under the Torah,[56] and pagan deities.[57] In light of the slavery language in

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[50] 4.22 LXX - λέγει κύριος Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ισραηλ; LXX 4.23 does not follow the MS and uses λαός rather than υἱὸς.
[51] Gordon 1989, 54.
[52] Delling 1971, 7: 685.
[53] Schweizer 1988, 466. Scott opted for this interpretation, but also noted: "Despite the unequivocal lexical evidence it is difficult to see how a reference to enslavement under the physical elements fits the context of Gal 4:3,9 (1999, 160)."
[54] Barrett 1985, 39. Betz 1979, 204-205; Hong 1993, 165; Oepke 1973, 132; Sanders 1977, 554-55.
[55] Arnold 1996, 55-76.
[56] The comparison of ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον (3.6-26) with ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4.3) has led some to conclude that Paul has Torah in mind (Longenecker 1990, 165-66; Fung 1988,181, 190).

the passage, however, identification of the στοιχεῖα as deities, or the idols that represent them, may be demonstrated as the most probable interpretation.

Paul's statement in 4.9 concerning the return (ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν) that the Galatians are making towards 'those who are not gods' (τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς) is reminiscent of similar statements made in 1 Thessalonians 1.9. Here Paul commends the Thessalonians for turning from idols to the true God (πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν). Both statements not only speak of a conscious choice made towards God/gods but also conclude that the result of that turning is enslavement to God/gods (Gal 4.9 - στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; 1 Thess 1.9 -δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ). Furthermore, Paul's labeling of the στοιχεῖα as ἀσθενῆς ('weak') and πτωχός ('poor') is consistent with his opinions of idolatry in 1 Corinthians 8.4-6 as well as similar Jewish opinions of idols.[58] Paul seems to have in mind idols or pagan practices associated with idols and the various deities that they represented. This is similar to the conclusions of Loren T. Stuckenbruck who suggests that Paul "may have been adapting a traditional Hellenistic Jewish polemic in which the Gentiles were perceived as venerating the στοιχεῖα as if they were deities."[59] In either case, whether idols or deities, it is apparent that Paul represents the στοιχεῖα as objects of pagan influence and worship from the Galatians' past.[60]

Scott's 'Second Exodus' interpretation linked the στοιχεῖα of 4.3 to the Egyptian officials (ἐπιτρόποι καὶ οἰκονόμοι - 4.2) that oversaw the enslavement of the Israelites.[61] Because the Exodus imagery and the warnings against re-enslavement to the στοιχεῖα occur within the context of an exegetical debate over the application of law and circumcision to Gentiles, E. Krentz is correct in arguing that for Paul the appropriation of the law by the Galatians was tantamount to a relapse into a period when they did not know God.[62] F. Mußner has gone further and suggests that a relationship exists between the astrological references in 4.10 and 'calendar piety' in

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[57] Stuckenbruck 1995, 107.
[58] Cf. Deut 4.28; Ps 115.4-8; Isa 44.9-20; Wis 15.15-19; Bar 6.3-72.
[59] Stuckenbruck 1995, 107. Stuckenbruck correctly notes, however, that τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4.3 does not refer to deities in quite the same sense as taken up in verse 9 because 4.3 is associated with the ἐπιτρόποι καὶ οἰκονόμοι in 4.2 and centered on the law (110).
[60] Betz 1979, 216.
[61] Scott 1992, 157.
[62] Krentz 1985, 59-60.

Judaism, which he thinks Paul's opponents must have emphasized.[63] Accordingly, Paul's concern was that by obeying Torah, the Gentiles were only one step away from worshipping the gods who controlled the stars regulating the calendar, something that they were already accustomed to doing in their pagan past. Betz is probably correct, though, that in the eyes of the Galatians things would have looked different and that by accepting Torah and circumcision they did not think they were reverting to paganism.[64] But it cannot be overlooked that whatever the στοιχεῖα may have represented, to Paul the appropriation of the law by the Galatians was similar to the period of Israelite enslavement in Egypt and no better than the Galatians previous days of paganism. The repetition of the terms παλίν and δουλεία in 4.9 (στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετὲ) and 5.1 (πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε)[65] suggests that the idea of 're-entry' into a former or even 'different type' of slavery was clearly what Paul had in mind.

11.1.4 Enslavement to the στοιχεῖα as a Rejection of Slavery to God

When this passage is examined in the context of the Jewish slave of God tradition, it appears that by returning to the enslaving power of the στοιχεῖα, the Galatians were also rejecting their position as slaves of God. The idea of 'turning' (ἐπιστρέφειν) towards or away from God is strongly aligned with the Jewish concept of enslavement to God or 'other gods.'[66] It was demonstrated in Part One that any attempt by Israelites to worship another god was interpreted as a rejection of slavery under the Lord and the acceptance of an alternative form of slavery, that is, to another god or to another king. As noted above, there is a striking similarity between Gal 4.8-9 and 1 Thessalonians 1.9. In the Thessalonians passage Paul commends his readers for their 'turn' from idolatry to become enslaved to God (ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ).[67] A similar idea is found in Jeremiah 3.22 (LXX) where God exhorts Israel to turn back to him and they respond affirmatively by declaring themselves to be slaves of God:

> ἐπιστράφητε, υἱοὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες, καὶ ἰάσομαι τὰ συντρίμματα ὑμῶν. ἰδοὺ δοῦλοι ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθά σοι, ὅτι σὺ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἶ.[68]

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[63] Mußner 1974, 299-302.
[64] Betz 1979, 216.
[65] The expression almost certainly refers to the Jewish notion of the 'yoke of the Torah' (*M. Aboth* 3.5) which has its roots in the OT conception of the yoke of God (Jer 2.20; 5.5; Ps 2.3) and Ben Sira interprets as the yoke of wisdom (Sir 51.26). Rengstorf 1964, 2: 898-901.
[66] Bertram 1971, 7:723-26.
[67] The verb's occurrence in 1 Thess 1.9 is often compared to 2 Cor 3.16 where it again describes conversion and in the context of Exodus imagery (Ex 34) as here in Gal 4.9.

If, as Paul suggests in 4.9, the Galatians are in danger of turning again to be enslaved by the στοιχεῖα, then this 'turn' represents an implicit rejection of their position as the slaves of God particularly as defined in Jeremiah 3.22 (LXX) and 1 Thessalonians 1.9. In the context of the Exodus imagery (vv.1-7), it is also possible that Paul had in mind the numerous warnings that the Israelites not return to slavery in Egypt, which represented a rejection of their position as God's slaves (Ex 16.3, 17.3; Num 11.4-6, 18; 14.1-4; see also 2 Chr 12.8). Paul does not, of course, press the imagery and call the Galatians δοῦλοι θεοῦ here, but in the context of a polemical passage that tries to prevent the re-enslavement of believers by comparing them to the Exodus event, such a statement would not have been germane to his argument. For Paul it is enough here to allow the contrast between serving (δοῦλειν) God and the στοιχεῖα to be represented by the idea of knowing God.

11.1.5 Summary

As a way to counter the arguments of his opponents, Paul chose to compare the status of the Galatians to that of ancient Israel. By using Exodus imagery Paul maintains that Christ has fulfilled the same role as Moses and released the Galatians from a situation of enslavement. The effects of this release were not only freedom from slavery but adoption, which in turn made them heirs of the promise of Abraham. In the same way that the Exodus event designated Israel as the slaves of God, the Christ event provides the Galatian believers with the same status. Paul presses his argument by declaring that by choosing to become adherents of the law the Galatians are rejecting their new status and position as God's slaves and are returning to their previous form of enslavement.

11.2 The Allegory of Sarah and Hagar 4.21-31

The second grouping of slavery terms occurs in the allegory of Sarah and Hagar (4.21-31). Approaches to this difficult passage have resulted in a variety of conclusions as to its position and function in the letter as a whole. E. W. Burton placed it in the context of the 'refutatory' section of Galatians 3.1-4.31 and labeled it an 'afterthought' that Paul used to reinforce his argument about the seed of Abraham.[69] J. Bligh attempted to impose a chiastic structure on the whole of 3.5-4.30

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[68] The MT contains the same idea of 'turning back to God' but does not include the confession of slavery to God found in the LXX.
[69] Burton 1920, 251.

and suggested that this was the substance of Paul's speech to Peter at Antioch in which the allegory was the climax of that speech.[70] O'Neill considered some aspects of the allegory to be unconvincingly Pauline and concluded that 4.24b-27, 30 were the result of a later hand.[71] Betz labelled it as the 'sixth and final argument' in the *probatio* section that served as a rhetorical device to return the reader's thoughts back to *interrogatio* of 3.1-5.[72] Others like G. W. Hansen and R.N. Longenecker have separated it from the previous section of 3.1-4.11 by virtue of the imperative in 4.12 (γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ) and viewed it as the beginning of the exhortative section.[73] More recently, Susan M. Elliot has suggested that the understanding of the allegory was found in the context of Anatolian Mountain Mothers of the gods which Paul used to exhort the Galatians to choose their 'mother' (slave or free).[74]

It is Barrett's approach, however, that remains the most convincing.[75] He suggests that the allegory was a continuation of the exegetical sparring between Paul and his opponents and that it should be labelled as part of the response section.[76] Basing his exegesis of the passage on the commonly held notion that the argument in Galatia was over who was a 'true son of Abraham', he suggested that the choice of the story of Sarah and Hagar was not Paul's but a comparison made by his opponents.[77] To support their quotation about Abraham in 3.16 they had developed an argument based on two women who bore sons to Abraham. One son (Isaac) was born to Sarah and was legitimate. The other son (Ishmael) was born to Hagar and not legitimate. Because the opponents had appended the law from Sinai to the Abrahamic promise, they concluded that obedience to the law was the means through which Gentiles could participate in the inheritance of Abraham.[78] According to Barrett, the opponents' use of this story was a way to appeal to the Gentiles to become 'legitimate

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[70] Bligh 1969, 278-80.
[71] O'Neil 1972, 62, 80-81.
[72] Betz 1979, 239-40.
[73] Hansen 1989, 154. Longenecker 1990, 199.
[74] Elliot 1999, 661-683.
[75] Barrett's approach has received wide acceptance including: Barclay 1988, 91; Dunn 1993, 243; Fung 1988, 219. Others like F. Stanley Jones, however, are not convinced: "*Barretts These zu Gal 4,21-31 ist unbegründet*"(1987, 82).
[76] This is in spite of the fact the Barrett did not recognize that 4.1-2 was a reflection of Exodus imagery as demonstrated by Scott (Barrett 1985, 6).
[77] Barrett notes that the story would not have served any purpose to Paul because it seems to support the opponents' argument against the Gentiles. Furthermore, the method of interpretation is unusual to Paul and the language of the passage seems to indicate that he is responding to their exegesis of the story (1985, 10).
[78] Fung suggested that the opponents had constructed a Sarah-Isaac-Moses-Law-Jerusalem line that represented the true offspring of Abraham (1988, 220).

children of Abraham' i.e. through obedience to the law.[79] If correct, then this appeal was the same as suggesting that those who were not legitimately of Abraham were 'the sons of a slave.'

Paul responds to his opponents' interpretation by reversing it through an allegory. He agrees with them that the children of Sarah and the children of Hagar are to be distinguished (4.23). But he identifies Hagar with Mt Sinai and therefore her children with the law given at Sinai (4.24).[80] He also identifies Hagar with contemporary Jerusalem from where it is assumed the opponents claimed to have the authority for their teaching.[81] By doing this Paul suggests that those who are followers of the law and claim authority from Jerusalem are the ones who are actually the illegitimate sons of a slave.[82]

The next part of Paul's answer is a quote from Isaiah 54.1. Using the Jewish hermeneutic method *g^{e}zēra šāwā*, Paul connects the theme of Sarah's barrenness in Genesis with the similar theme in Isaiah 54.1. Because the Isaiah passage was interpreted as refering to Jerusalem, Paul was able to connect Sarah to the promises made in conjunction with Jerusalem. In this case, however, it is a heavenly Jerusalem as opposed to the earthly Jerusalem of Hagar. Paul's conclusion is that those who do not adhere to the earthly Jerusalem (i.e. the Torah and the teachings of the opponents) are the children of Sarah and thus, like Isaac, are heirs to the promise of Abraham (4.28).[83]

The last point in Paul's argument is to characterize Ishmael as a 'persecutor' of Isaac. This is a reference to the 'persecution' that the 'Ishmael like' opponents are now rendering towards the 'Isaac like' Gentiles.[84] The quote of Genesis 21.10 that follows is not, according to Barrett, a demand by Paul to the Gentiles to 'throw out the

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[79] Barrett 1985, 9.
[80] It is possible that Paul here is attempting a play on Hagar's name. The problem, as Betz points out, is how "Paul could have justified the equation. Although his information may be inaccurate, he must have believed it to be correct (1979, 245)." For a review of the possible ways Paul arrived at this association between Mt. Sinai and Hagar see Dunn 1993, 250-53.
[81] Cf. Dunn 1993, 10.
[82] Barrett 1985, 12.
[83] Barrett 1985, 12-13.
[84] Dunn finds it doubtful, however, "whether their [*the opponents*] proselytizing could be described as 'persecution'"(1983, 250).

children of Hagar' i.e. the opponents,[85] but is a warning to them of the dangerous position that they have placed themselves in before God.[86]

Barrett's interpretation of the passage is to be preferred for several reasons. First, Peder Borgen has offered both correction and support to Barrett's interpretation of the allegory.[87] He contends that Paul's exercise in 4.21-31 is not a 'fresh interpretation' of the Abraham/Hagar/Ishmael story but is part of an interpretation tradition found in Hellenistic Judaism represented by Philo.[88] Borgen demonstrates that Philo, like Paul, considered Hagar to be a proto-type of slavery and an example of how true Hebrew life is accomplished through observance of the law (*Abr.* 251).[89] Borgen agues that in 4.21-31 Paul is not offering a new interpretation to the Abraham/Hagar/Ishmael story but "rebuts the Judaizers by drawing on other Jewish expository traditions which see the slave Girl Hagar and her son with Abraham within the context of Jewish thought about Gentiles who become proselytes and live under the Law of Moses."[90] According to Borgen, Paul's interpretation is not an aberrant view of the story but is part of an established exegetical framework.

Second, although Barrett overlooks the possible Exodus imagery in 4.1-10, his interpretation lends coherence to the theory that 3.5-4.30 is an exegetical exercise between Paul and his opponents. Rather than labelling 4.21-31 as an 'afterthought' or 'interpolation', Barrett's interpretation sustains the unity and integrity of the letter.

Third, in conjunction with the Exodus imagery that preceded this section and the larger debate over who was a legitimate son of Abraham, the allegory's connection of the Abraham story with Mt Sinai and Torah makes a logical progression in Paul's argument. Within the larger context of the slavery to God theme in Judaism, Barrett's interpretation is plausible.

11.2.1 Paul's Allegory and the Debate Over Slavery in Early Judaism

It was demonstrated in Part One of this thesis that as part of an internal discussion in Judaism over what it meant to be a slave to God, some placed great emphasis on identifying with the patriarchs.[91] Slavery in any form, it was concluded, denied Jews

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[85] This position of exclusion is held by R. Longenecker who believes that Paul wants the 'Judaizers' who had come from the outside to be removed from the congregation in Galatia (1990, 217).
[86] Barrett 1985, 13.
[87] Borgen 1997b, 151-164.
[88] Ibid., 153.
[89] Ibid., 160.
[90] Ibid., 163.
[91] See above § 7.1.

the right to claim legitimate participation in the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob line. Slavery, either physical or spiritual, was viewed as inconsistent with one's status as an heir of Abraham. In addition to concerns that every Jew could claim legitimate descent from a patriarch, identification with the patriarchs was supported through the fulfilment of the law. Obedience to the law represented the Jews' acceptance of their position as God's slaves. If a Jew wished to show that he was an heir to the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob line he could do so by upholding the tenets of Judaism. This was clearly illustrated in the examination of Philo in Part One. Philo declared that Hagar should not be considered a slave because she was a Hebrew by her rule of life (*Abraham*, 251.2).[92] This, in turn, gave her a claim of noble birth and thus participation in the lineage of Abraham.

In the context of Galatians it seems clear that part of Paul's struggle with his opponents is found in the ongoing discussion within Judaism over what it meant to be a slave of God. Paul's declaration in 4.31 'we are not children of a slave' (οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα) is probably an echo of this debate in which those who are the slaves of God demonstrate their status by obeying the law in the same manner as their ancestors. Paul agrees with his opponents that kinship with Abraham is important, but he disagrees with how that is accomplished. While his detractors emphasized the application of law as a way to identify with Abraham, Paul stressed 'Abraham like faith' (3.29). Some Jews considered descent from a slave or enslavement to anyone other than God to be incompatible with their status as slaves of God. Paul agreed with this in principle, but considered the application of Torah to Gentiles as a form of enslavement that was contrary to their status as slaves of God and regarded this as the equivalent of rejecting God to become enslaved to another (5.1 -μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε). For Paul identification with Abraham and the ability to claim kinship with Abraham does not come through obedience to the law but through faith.

11.3 Freedom and Slavery in the Law of Christ

11.3.1 Freed to be Enslaved

In 5.13 Paul sets up a deliberate paradox between the concept of freedom he introduced in 5.1 and the idea of slavery. Both verses are parallel in their affirmation that freedom was the ultimate goal of the work of Christ. But while in 5.1 Paul sees

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[92] See above § 7.2.2.

this freedom as a way to be released from the Torah's 'yoke of slavery,' in 5.13 he portrays freedom as an opportunity for enslavement to one another (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις). The reason for this paradox is, as Betz has noted, that Paul does not want his polemic against circumcision and the law in 5.2-12 to be misunderstood or to be used as a licence for sin.[93] Paul believes that freedom is not just a matter of release from enslavement for the purpose of self-determination, but marks entrance into a new responsibility, which is the only type of freedom that exists in God.[94] Thus the paradox here is not similar to Stoic philosophy, which viewed a slave as able to be free by virtue of nature or reason, and is different than Paul's emphasis on the obligations of freedom. Instead this paradox seems to reflect once again the Exodus imagery of the people of God being freed to serve him (Ex 4.23; 19.4-6; 20.1-6; Lev 25.42).[95] This is confirmed by the fact that the language of freedom and slavery that appears in Galatians ends with 5.13 and returns the readers' thoughts back to a similar occurrence in 2.4. Here Paul accused his opponents of 'spying' on the freedom he and others had in Christ as a precursor to enslaving them i.e. by imposing on them obedience to the Torah (ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν). By concluding his discussion of slavery and freedom as he does in 5.13, however, Paul demonstrates to his opponents that he is not promoting a freedom of self-determination and anti-nomism, but a freedom that leads to voluntary enslavement to others in the community of Christ rather than to the law.

The paradox, however, does not end here but continues in 5.14 with Paul's quotation of the law to "Love your neighbour as yourself" (Lev 19.18). Why does Paul re-introduce the law here after having declared freedom from it in 5.1? Because Paul has no intention of destroying the law or its validity, but intends to emphasize the obligations of freedom and enslavement to others as a way of fulfilling the law. This is done not by following Torah, but the law of Christ (6.2).

11.3.2 Slavery to the Law of Christ

It is commonly recognized that there is a close connection between 5.13-14 and 6.2.[96] The parallel references to mutual obligation of service (δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις 5.13; ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε - 6.2) and the repetition of verbs from the root πληροῦν (πεπλήρωται 5.14; ἀναπληρώσετε - 6.2) make it clear that

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[93] Betz 1979, 273.
[94] Dunn 1993, 287.
[95] Barclay 1988, 109 ftnt 7.

there is a connection between the law of Christ and Paul's quotation of Leviticus 19.18.[97] For Paul, the νόμος Χριστοῦ is a way of referring to how Jesus interpreted the law in his teachings and actions through the idea of 'love of neighbour.'[98] Thus, Paul believes that the 'whole of the Mosaic law' (5.14) can be fulfilled through love and service to one another in the community of Christ.[99] Paul is not, therefore, advocating repudiation or replacement of Torah, but rather its complete fulfilment through the obligations of freedom manifested in love and enslavement to fellow believers. By following the example of Christ, the law of Moses is fulfilled.

11.3.3 Christ as the Paradigmatic Slave of God

Richard B. Hays has proposed that the formulation of νόμος Χριστοῦ by Paul was intended to set up Christ as the paradigmatic self-giver.[100] Hays demonstrates that in Galatians Paul portrays Christ as the self-giver who expressed a pattern of obedience to God and love to others by suffering on their behalf (1.3-4; 2.19-21; 3.1, 13-14).[101] In conjunction with this pattern is Paul's own understanding of his life as a recapitulation of the self-giver pattern found in Christ. This pattern not only guides his own life, but also leads him to exhort others to imitate him[102] in the hope that the Galatians will be conformed to Christ (2.19-20; 4.7, 12, 14, 19; 6.17).[103] Thus for Paul, Christ is the paradigmatic self-giver and, in order to live in accordance with the structure of existence defined by his obedience, one must become a self-giver a slave to others through acts of love.[104]

Hays' treatment of νόμος Χριστοῦ is helpful in understanding the slave of God theme in Galatians.[105] By setting up Christ as a paradigm of one who fulfilled the law through obedient self-giving love, Paul provides echoes of the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern found in the Philippian hymn. The pattern here is implicit rather than explicit. However, the idea of suffering for others ('humiliation')

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[96] Hays 2000, 333; Barclay 1988, 125-135.
[97] The ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ refers to the quotation of the LXX version of the passage (Betz, 275; Dunn, 291).
[98] Dunn 1993, 322.
[99] Barclay 1988, 132.
[100] Hays 1987, 268-290.
[101] Ibid., 277-278.
[102] Ibid., 280-82.
[103] Ibid., 282-83.
[104] Ibid., 289.
[105] While Hays' understanding of νόμος Χριστοῦ is indebted to his understanding of Πίστις Χριστοῦ, acceptance of this point it is not necessary. Hays' exegesis of Galatians clearly shows how νόμος Χριστοῦ has the equivalent function of Torah in that by following Christ's example Torah is fulfilled.

in 'obedience' to God fulfills two of the pattern's three parts with the notion of Christ's exaltation as assumed by both Paul and his readers. That Paul can even mention something called the 'law of Christ' is an indication of the authority that he recognized to reside in Christ, which resulted from his position of 'exaltation' by God. In Philippians Paul emphasized that obedience to God could be gained by following the paradigmatic example of Christ in the hymn. By becoming a slave of Christ and imitating his actions, one would fulfil the requirement of obedience as a slave of God. To obey the exalted Christ was synonymous with obeying God. In Galatians the situation is quite the same. The issue is still obedience to God, but now the question is how that obedience should be accomplished. Paul's detractors in Galatia believed that this was accomplished through obedience to the law. Paul disagrees. He does not contend that the law is not to be obeyed, but rather that it is to be 'fulfilled' by adherence to the paradigmatic self-giver, Christ. The 'law of Christ' is manifested through love and enslavement to one another and not through enslavement to the law. In Paul's mind, believers, like the Israelites in the Exodus, have been freed from one enslavement in order to enter another, that of Christ.

11.4 Paul the Slave of Christ

Having examined the way that slavery language functions in Galatians, it is now possible to examine how Paul uses the language in conjunction with himself and how his readers may have understood what he was saying about himself.

The occurrence of the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ in 1.10 draws attention to several points. First, unlike Philippians, Paul does not declare himself to be a slave of Christ as part of the opening greeting of Galatians. Also dissimilar to Philippians is the absence of anyone else in the designation even though his greeting to the Galatians clearly indicates that he does not write alone (Παῦλος ἀπόστολος . . . καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ 1.1-2). This change in tactics is probably the result of Paul not wanting to include the phrase where it could be overlooked with his accompanying title of apostle. Instead, he includes it at the beginning of what is commonly understood to be the rebuke or argument section of his letter so that when his readers encounter it they will be alerted to his position in the debate. The placement of the phrase here makes it clear that Paul's position as a slave of Christ is

going to be an underlying aspect of his claim to proclaim a legitimate gospel. As Oepke says: "*Diese Verse leiten über zu dem Thema des ganzen Briefes.*"[106]

Second, the verse is set up in such a way that Paul's claim to be a slave of Christ is in contrast to that which he perceives to be the natural opposite, 'a people pleaser.' This contrast is established by the presence of ἄρτι and ἔτι, which structures Paul's rhetorical question to receive a negative answer.[107] Because Paul expected a negative answer as to whether he is a 'people pleaser' and the autobiographical section that follows in 1.12-16, it is clear that Paul is contrasting his present life in Christ with his former life as one who pleased his elders and peers in the pursuits of Judaism.[108] It also stands in contrast to the actions of the opponents in 2.4 who not only are introducing a 'different gospel' but are also trying to introduce what Paul considers to be an alternate form of enslavement (ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν).[109] For Paul, the opposite of a slave of Christ who acts to please God is a people pleaser.[110] Consequently, to be a people pleaser is to be enslaved to something other than Christ.[111] In the case of the opponents and the wavering Galatians, the Torah is that slavery.[112] By introducing δοῦλος Χριστοῦ here at the outset, Paul not only states his position in contrast to his opponents, but also anticipates his discussion later in the epistle about what it means to be 'in Christ' and to obey the 'law of Christ' (Cf. 3.29; 5.24; 6.2).[113]

Third, the 'I' statement in conjunction with the δοῦλος Χριστοῦ phrase is paradigmatic as part of Paul's identification and subsequent autobiography which is a call for his readers to identify with and imitate him.[114] Paul has identified himself

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[106] Oepke 1973, 53.
[107] BDF, §440.
[108] Betz, 56.
[109] Paul makes a similar statement about his opponents in Corinth (2 Cor 11.20).
[110] This is further developed in 2.20, 3.25 and 4.7 where Paul uses οὐκέτι ('no longer') to describe his own life as well as that of the believers prior to and after Christ.
[111] This was also the observation of M.D.R. Willink who concluded that Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ in this passage was "to enforce the anathema on anyone who should teach a different gospel" (1928, 46).
[112] Jones, however, identifies enslavement here in terms of the Galatians to the opponents rather than the law that they were promoting. Jones supports his conclusion through an appeal to what he identifies as a "*politish-miltärischen Bilde*" of slavery and freedom found in the writings of Herodotus. Jones extends this interpretation to other instances in Galatians where freedom and slavery are juxtaposed to each other and concludes that Paul does not have in mind "*der Begriff 'Freiheit vom Gesetz'* "(78, 82). His thesis, however, is unconvincing in the context of 4.21-31 where he is forced to admit that Paul is drawing upon Jewish tradition (96). Furthermore, he fails to consider the concept of slavery as found in 4.1-10, which helps to form the idea of freedom from the law. (1987, 70-109).
[113] Dodd 1996, 99.
[114] Gaventa 1986, 309-326.

with the obedient self-giving Christ to whom he wants the Galatians to be conformed. In claiming 'I am a slave of Christ,' he hopes that that they will adopt the same self-understanding, that is, to be a 'slave of Christ' is the opposite of being a people pleaser. Furthermore, when they, like Paul, declare themselves to be a slave of Christ they identify with the Law of Christ and not the Law of Moses (as do the people pleasers). Paul is the exemplary 'slave of Christ' whom the Galatians are to emulate and obey.[115]

Thus Paul's self designation as a slave of Christ in 1.10 is not, as has been often suggested, part of an extended greeting nor is it intended to signify his position of leadership in the church.[116] It is part of an argument against his opponents in which he begins by contrasting the type of slavery that they are offering the Galatians under the law (2.4) with the type of slavery that Christ is offering under freedom from the law (5.13; 6.2). In light of the highly polemical nature of the letter, it is quite probable that Paul chose the wording of 1.10 in such a way as to put his opponents immediately on the defensive by suggesting that they were *not* slaves of Christ.[117] Considering that Paul spends so much energy reversing the argument of his opponents, it is quite possible that he began doing this from the very beginning by depriving them of their own claims to be Christ's slaves.[118]

11.5 Synthesis

Those in Galatia who oppose Paul insist that without acceptance of circumcision and Torah, the Gentiles cannot become heirs of Abraham and thus were the illegitimate sons of a slave because aspects of their identity in Christ were lacking. Paul begins his highly polemical response by clearly demarcating himself as Christ's slave over against those whom he considers to be people pleasers and promoters of an alternative enslavement that finds its expression in obedience to the law. In Paul's mind, one cannot be a people pleaser and the slave of Christ; the two are incompatible.

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[115] Dodd 1996, 99.
[116] *Contra* Martin 1990, 51.
[117] This is opposed to the common view that Paul is answering an accusation of his opponents that he is a 'man pleaser.' Betz is correct by stating, "Not every rhetorical denial is an accusation turned around" (1979, 56).
[118] It is possible that the opponents' argument that those who did not obey the Torah were illegitimate children of Abraham and the sons of a slave also included an implicit notion that they were not slaves of Christ. This would be consistent with what has been demonstrated as the Jewish notion that slavery to God was confirmed by obedience to the law. In light of the Christ event, the opponents in Galatia

In an exegetical *tour de force*, Paul attempts to show that the opponents' exegesis of the OT and their understanding of Abraham is flawed. Identification with Abraham and participation in his inheritance occurs through faith in God, and not through obedience to the law. Through the imagery of the Exodus he demonstrates that the law was temporary and did not overshadow or append the Abrahamic covenant. By way of application he shows how the Gentiles, like the Israelites in Egypt, were also at one time in a position of slavery. In the first Exodus God sent Moses. In this second Exodus God sent his son in the figure of Christ. Consequently, any Gentiles who want to obey the law, which was temporary, are reverting to a similar position of enslavement they had once experienced as pagans before they knew God. Thus according to Paul, Gentile obedience to the law was analogous to accepting a position of slavery and to rejecting their position as slaves of God. Paul exhorts his readers not to return to this type of enslavement and uses his opponents' arguments from the story of Sarah and Hagar to 'prove' that they are not the 'sons of a slave' but are free from the yoke of slavery, that is, of the law.

This freedom, however, is not for the purpose of self-determination. It is an opportunity to be free from the law and to fulfil it at the same time. This is accomplished by following the paradigmatic self-giving Christ and enslaving themselves to one another in love. Those who follow the 'law of Christ' are demarcated as his slaves. Those who follow Torah are the illegitimate sons of a slave and unable to be the slaves of Christ. To follow the law is to be a people pleaser and a slave of the law. To follow the law of Christ is to be a slave of Christ.

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may have adopted the concept of slavery of Christ, but considered the obedience aspect to be accomplished through Torah.

Chapter 12

Enslavement to Sin and God in the Epistle to the Romans

Of a total of forty-six occurrences of slavery terms in the Pauline corpus Romans contains twenty.[1] Of these nine appear in chapter 6 followed by another six in chapters 7 and 8 making these the most saturated chapters with slavery terminology not only in Romans but also the entire Pauline corpus.[2] Six additional occurrences in Romans are contained in the opening greeting (1.1), within a scriptural quote (9.12), and in the context of community relationships between believers (12.11; 14.4, 18; 16.18). The method of approach to Romans will be consistent with that of Philippians and Galatians. Paul's usage of slavery terms in the body of the letter will be examined first before an assessment of his self-identification as a slave of Christ is attempted.

12.1 Suggested Backgrounds to Paul's Slavery Imagery in Romans

Slavery imagery in Romans is sometimes interpreted as Paul borrowing from a background of Greco-Roman practices with which he and his readers would have been familiar. The conclusion that Romans was written to a congregation located in the political center of the Roman Empire makes this an attractive background. Alternatives to this view have been the more recent suggestion that what Paul had in mind was not institutional slavery but his Jewish heritage and familiarity with the history of Israel. An overview of both of these approaches follows below.

12.1.1 Imagery from Greco-Roman Slavery

Adolph Deissmann compared Paul's slavery metaphors with descriptions of sacral manumission found in the Delphi inscriptions and suggested it was the source of Paul's slavery imagery.[3] W.L. Westermann also adopted this view with minor adjustments.[4] Franz Bömer demonstrated, however, that mistaken interpretations and harmonizations of the inscriptions on the part of Deissmann in addition to the presence of incompatible terminology between the inscriptions and Paul render the

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[1] The disputed letters and Pastorals contain a total of 14: Eph = 4; Col = 4; 1 Tim = 2; 2 Tim = 2; Titus = 4.

[2] 1 Cor = 7; 2 Cor = 2; Gal = 12; Phil =3; 1 Thess = 1; Phlm =1.

[3] The Delphi inscriptions describe the practice of manumission whereby a slave is purchased by Apollo and becomes Apollo's slave. However, because Apollo did not make use of his formal rights over the slave, the sale was 'fictitious' in that it allowed the slave to go free (1975, 320-331).

[4] Westermann concluded that (*contra* Deissmann) the sale was not fictitious but an entrustment sale of the slave to Apollo (1948, 56-64).

parallels as overstated.[5] As a result of these criticisms by Bömer, comparisons of Sacral Manumission practices to NT slavery images have, for the most part, been abandoned.[6]

The work of Francis Lyall is representative of some who have concluded that Paul had imagery other than sacral manumission in mind. Lyall considers the background of Paul's slavery language in Romans to be the Greco-Roman institution from which Paul borrowed the imagery of the Roman legal system to illustrate his theological explanations. Since Paul's epistle to the Romans was probably written in Corinth (a major slave market) and addressed to the capital of the Empire (the heart of Roman law), Lyall surmises that Paul would have naturally drawn his imagery from the cosmopolitan life around him.[7] Those who have followed a similar approach include C.K. Barrett,[8] J.A. Fitzmyer,[9] W. M. Meeks,[10] L. Morris,[11] and W. G. Rollins.[12] This position is somewhat tentatively adopted by J.D.G. Dunn who points out, however, that Paul's slavery metaphors are at times "strained" and that the "real life parallel is not entirely applicable" to the Greco Roman setting.[13]

Others have not been so convinced. In a discussion of slavery terms in Romans 6, Käsemann tersely concluded, "There is nothing here to suggest the ancient custom of redeeming slaves."[14] Bruce N. Kaye also questioned the degree to which slave practices had influenced Paul and suggested that his usage of slavery terms was part of an interpretive trend in the Christian tradition that went back to Jesus and, ultimately, Israelite traditions.[15] Thus while many have willingly accepted that Paul's metaphors were the product of his Greco-Roman environment, others have sought a background in Paul's Jewish heritage.

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[5] Bömer remarked: "Delphi ist mit weitem Abstand der Ort, der für die sakrale Freilassung die grösste Bedeutung besitzt" (1957-63, 76 n. 271). See also Bartchy 1973, 121-125.
[6] See Bartchy 1973, 121-125.
[7] Lyall 1984, 23, 34, 36, 173. In particular, Lyall views the discussion of slavery in Romans 6.16 to be an allusion to the Greco-Roman practice of self-sale. Lyall concedes, however, that he cannot prove conclusively that Paul was using Roman law in all his metaphors (1984, 178).
[8] Although Barrett only commits to the background as 'probably' and does not elaborate further (1962, 131).
[9] Fitzmyer 1993, 449.
[10] Meeks 1983, 20-23.
[11] Morris, 1988, 261.
[12] Rollins 1987, 100-110.
[13] Dunn also follows Meeks (1988, 341, 345, 347, 354).
[14] Käsemann, 1980, 179.
[15] Kaye 1979, 129-132.

12.1.2 Imagery From the History of Israel and the Exodus

The linguistic parallels between Romans 8.15-17 with Galatians 4.5-7 led Scott to conclude that Paul's notion of adoption (υἱοθεσία) in Romans 8 was clearly built upon its usage in the latter which in turn was based on the adoption formula of 2 Samuel 7.14.[16] According to Scott, the introduction of the heirs (κληρονόμοι) in 8.17 is linked with a similar occurrence in 4.13 and, as in Galatians, to the figure of Abraham.[17] Scott concludes, then, that the idea of believers experiencing adoption in 8.15 is not part of a Greco-Roman image but of the Jewish tradition that applied 2 Samuel 7.14 to the messiah. Paul's usage of this tradition allowed believers to become joint heirs (συγκληρονόμοι) with Christ through adoption.[18] Scott also points out that 8.32b is easily linked to 4.13 as well. The idea that the joint heirs with Christ will be given all things with him is analogous to Abraham's descendants as heir of the world (τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου) in 4.13 and to similar statements in Galatians 4.1-7.[19]

In the context of slavery language in the passage, Scott notes that adoption is instrumental in freeing the heirs/sons from slavery (πνεῦμα δουλείας). But this is not just a one off release from enslavement. Scott contends that this freedom also has eschatological implications that extend to all of creation experiencing a release from enslavement (8.21).[20] Furthermore, this adoption and release in relation to the πνεῦμα (8.4,15) is regarded, according to Scott, as a fulfillment of Ezekiel 36.26-28 where the giving of the Spirit is linked to God's claim on Israel and a promise to return them to the land. This represents, according to Scott, a Second Exodus which was part of the anticipated interpretations of 2 Samuel 7.14.[21] Consequently, the imagery Paul was using in Romans, like Galatians, was not that of Greco-Roman institutions but the imagery and typology of the Exodus which distinguished the status of slavery (δουλεία) from that of adoption (υἱοθεσία).[22]

Similar to Scott, Sylvia Keesmaat also finds Exodus imagery at work in Romans 8.[23] She proposes that the key to 8.14-17 is the image of being led by the

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[16] Scott 1992, 220. For a complete summary of Scott's hypothesis see above § 11.1.2.
[17] Ibid., 249.
[18] Ibid., 244-47.
[19] Scott would argue that the shift from the singular κληρονόμος to the plural between 4.13 and 8.15 is a result of shifting from Abraham to the Messiah and all believers (1992, 251-52).
[20] Ibid., 259-60.
[21] Scott also associates *T. Jud.* 24.3 and *Jub* 1.23-24 with 2 Samuel 7.14 (1992, 263-64).
[22] Ibid., 265.
[23] Keesmaat, 1999.

Spirit (πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται) without fear (οὐ . . . εἰς φόβον) and may be derived from Exodus imagery found in the LXX.[24] Connected to this notion was sonship (υἱοθεσία), which also plays a prominent role in Exodus imagery.[25] Keesmaat points out that whenever Paul specifically uses δουλεία, as opposed to its cognates, it always is given a negative connotation.[26] Moreover, this negative connotation extends to the LXX where it occurs 46 times, of which 16 are clear allusions to Israel's time in Egypt and many of the remainder refer to enslavement under a foreign power.[27] Coupling this with the 'Abba Father' cry (8.15), which is identified as a cry of Israel in time of crisis,[28] Keesmaat concludes that Paul's slavery language is rooted in Exodus imagery and that he is comparing the believer's life with the Israelite Exodus.[29] This imagery is applicable to creation in 8.18-39 as well. Just as Israel and believers were at one time enslaved and then released by God, such is also the case with creation.[30]

A broader approach than Scott and Keesmaat is that of Frank Thielman.[31] He interprets Paul's slavery language in all of chapters 5-8 as part of the story of Israel. Thielman suggests that Romans 5-8 was a continuation of the story of Israel that Paul has begun in chapters 1-4 with Abraham and concludes in 9-11.[32] Israel's story is part of Paul's symbolic universe that includes the giving of the law by God and Israel's failure to keep the law followed by punishment through exile and enslavement.[33] According to Thielman, in Paul's symbolic universe Israel was in an eschatological age expected to be dominated by righteousness, peace and the Holy Spirit.[34] This eschatological age is the period of Israel's final restoration being carried out by God. Thielman argues that Paul used allusions to this symbolic universe to explain the position of the believer. Following the conclusions of J.M. Scott in 8.15, Thielman concludes that when Paul declares that believers were freed from slavery and called as children of God, he is alluding to the eschatological restoration of God's covenant

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[24] Cf. Ex 15.13; Ps ; 22.3-4; 77.14, 52, 53; 78; 104.37, 42-45; 142.10; (55-59, 72-73).
[25] Cf. Deut 32; Hosea 11.1; Wis 18.13; (60-61).
[26] Romans 8.14, 21; Galatians 4.24; 5.1.
[27] Keesmaat 1999, 67.
[28] Ibid., 77.
[29] Ibid., 67, 95.
[30] Ibid., 104. Keesmaat also connects this to redemption from wandering in the wilderness in Isa 43.19-21and Ezk 34.25-28; (1999, 112) and the groaning of creation with the groaning of the Israelites in Egypt (1999, 115).
[31] Thielman 1993, 227-49.
[32] Ibid., 227.
[33] Ibid., 230, 237-38.

people.[35] Thus according to Thielman's approach, slavery language in Romans should be understood in the context of Jewish tradition rather than Greco-Roman institutions.

Added to all of these may be the somewhat more general approach of N.T. Wright. Following the work of Keesmaat, Wright has interpreted Romans 3-8 as a new Exodus.[36] Similar to Thielman, Wright contends that in Romans Paul is using the story of Israel, and more specifically the Exodus, to shape his arguments.[37] He contends "that in Judaism in general any story about slaves and how they became free must be seen at once as an allusion to the events of the Exodus."[38] He identifies baptism in chapter 6 with Israel's crossing the Red Sea and 'sin' as taking the role of Egypt and Pharaoh to whom Israel was enslaved. Chapter 7 and its discussion of Torah is an allusion to Mt Sinai where the Mosaic Law was given. Chapter 8 is, as suggested by Keesmaat, Paul describing how believers are part of a 'New Exodus' and become children of God echoing the language of the first Exodus (4.22).[39] Thus Wright finds a Jewish rather than Greco-Roman background more attractive.

The above survey indicates that there are at least two ways to interpret Paul's slavery images in Romans. On the one hand, there is the view that Paul utilized these images from his Greco-Roman environment. On the other hand, there is the view that Paul's imagery was adapted from his Jewish heritage and applied to the situation of the believer. In keeping with the approach of this thesis, it will be demonstrated below that, with adjustments to the above approaches, it is this second view (Paul's Jewish heritage) that is a more suitable interpretation.

12.2 Images of Slavery in Chapter Six

The attractiveness some have found with the Greco-Roman institution as the background in chapter 6 appears have been based on three indicators: (1) the presence of slavery terminology; (2) Paul's statement of a general principle of slavery in v. 16; and (3) what appears to be an apology by Paul in v. 19 for his use of slavery imagery. When these are examined more closely, however, it becomes clear that they do not link Paul's slavery imagery to the Greco-Roman institution with any probability.

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[34] Ibid., 233-35.
[35] Ibid., 239.
[36] Wright 1999, 26-35.
[37] Ibid., 27.
[38] Ibid., 29.
[39] Ibid., 28-30.

12.2.1 The Presence of Slavery Terminology

The semantic analysis of Romans 6 by James W. Aageson has demonstrated that the presence of slavery terms in the passage does not necessarily reflect institutional imagery.[40] Aageson notes that the semantic domain of δοῦλος in chapter 6 should be understood within the domain of 'Control Restrain' rather than 'Status.' Whenever δοῦλος describes an activity or event causing subservience, it belongs to the domain of "Control Restrain' and has two primary referents: (1) the person or thing that is controlled and (2) the person or thing that does the controlling. When δοῦλος describes the state or position of a person and is contrasted with ἐλεύθερος, it belongs to the domain of "Status" also with two referents: (1) the person who is owned as property and (2) the person who is the owner of the property.[41]

In examination of 6.16, Aageson notes that the primary referent is the second person pronoun 'you' (the addressees of the statement along with the reflexive ἑαυτοὺς) contrasted with two secondary referents, sin and obedience. Because sin and obedience are objects of activity in this verse, δοῦλος is best understood in the domain of 'Control Restrain' and not 'Status.' Slavery language in the remainder of 6.16-23 is also consistently used to describe an activity or event signaling how someone comes under the control of another.[42] This leads Aageson to conclude:

> "When all these features of δοῦλος in 6.16 are considered, the sense of the term in this context moves decidedly in the direction of control. Thus δοῦλος conveys the notion of being subservient to certain explicitly identified impersonal realities rather than the sense of status, property ownership, or belonging."[43]

In light of Aageson's semantic analysis, it seems clear that the slavery language in chapter 6 does not convey the notion of individuals owning one another, but identifies controls upon the lives of individuals.[44] This is also consistent with the way the language was used in the Jewish literature examined in Part One. Jews of this period understood slavery as more of an issue of obedience and controlling forces

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[40] Aageson 1996, 75-89.
[41] Ibid., 77.
[42] Aageson notes that Louw and Nida indicate "if the context does not suggest two or more meanings of a word, one should assume that in any one context a lexeme has a single meaning [*Lexica Semantics*, 11] (78 note 8).
[43] Ibid., 78.
[44] Aageson notes that Dunn's translation of 6.16 conveys this sense of control: 'Do you not know that when you give control of yourselves as someone's slaves to obey him . . .'[Dunn, *Romans*, 334] (1996, 78).

than as an institution.[45] Paul's argument seems to work within this framework. Certainly, some images of Greco-Roman slavery would have entered into the minds of Paul's readers, but what is not apparent is that Paul had those specific images in mind when he applied the terms. As will be seen below, Paul's use of a general principle in 6.16 as a way to describe 'Control Restrain' relationships would have quickly excluded images of Greco-Roman slavery. Paul is writing about control not ownership.

12.2.2 The General Principle of Slavery

Verse 16a states: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν δοῦλοι ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε. The phrase οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι is commonly interpreted as a rhetorical question introducing a well-known or obvious fact.[46] Some have attempted to relate this verse to the Roman practice of self-sale whereby impoverished individuals voluntarily entered slavery as a means of support. Those who favor this background conclude that Paul used this imagery as a way to signal a change of masters from sin to Christ.[47] The difficulty with this interpretation is that individuals who sold themselves into slavery did so from a position of freedom.[48] The practice of self-sale was not a change of masters but a relinquishment of one's freedom. Those who were already enslaved did not have the right to sell themselves to another master but rather were constantly in danger of being arbitrarily sold by their master.[49] Commentators are correct that Paul has a change of masters in mind (from sin to God), and it is this that makes a parallel to the practice of self-sale impossible because the individual already has a master. The use of slavery terms in the 'Control Restrain' rather than 'Status' domain in this verse further complicates an appeal to self-sale because Paul is not conveying the idea of property ownership here but control. Consequently, to assume that Paul has Greco-Roman slavery in mind is to read more into the statement than he has provided. All Paul has done is to state a general principle that could be applied to any system of slavery. Once this general principle was introduced into the conversation, it was immediately applied to the situation of the believer without venturing any further into the psyche of institutional

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[45] See above§2.6..
[46] Käsemann 1980, 180; Dunn 1988, 341; Fitzmyer 1993, 448.
[47] Meeks 1983, 20-23; Dunn 1988, 341; Fitzmyer 1993, 448.
[48] Patterson 1982, 130-131.
[49] Bradley 1994, 51.

slavery.[50] Simply put, the statement incorporates an image from general knowledge, applied to the life of the Christian and is not necessarily an allusion to a particular practice of slavery. Is it connected somehow to the institution of slavery? Yes, but in a more remote or even detached manner. To what degree is impossible to determine.

12.2.3 Paul's Purported Apology for Using Slavery Images

In verse 19 Paul says ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν. This phrase is commonly viewed as an apology to the readers for the apostle's use of slave imagery that some might have found offensive.[51] There are however, some difficulties with this interpretation. First, the expression ἀνθρώπινον λέγω is not found in any of the non-Pauline NT writings, the LXX or other Greek literature.[52] It seems to be a Pauline invention and thus we are prevented from making a comparison with parallels outside of Paul.[53] Second, as Kaye has pointed out, if the traditional interpretation is correct, this would be the only occasion in which Paul thinks he must defend his use of slavery language.[54] Nowhere else is Paul constrained to excuse himself to readers for the way that he describes them as slaves or as being in a situation of enslavement. On the contrary, he uses slavery language to describe a number of aspects of the believer's life in relation to God and Christ without offering an apology (Gal 1.10; 5.13; Phil 2.22).

A different interpretation may be suggested if verse 19 is compared with similar statements made by Paul in verse 13. In both places he describes the action of handing over members of the body to the practice of either good or evil (παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν). The main point of both verses is that prior to Christ individuals handed over their members to be used for evil, but now (after Christ) they should hand their members over to be used for good. In verse 13 Paul uses military images to describe how believers' members (μέλης) were handed over as weapons

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[50] Käsemann also rejects an 'institutional interpretation' of this passage and points out that "Paul's concern is to rule out the possibility of neutrality. οὐκ οἴδατε appeals to general experience. A statement about human life is first made, and then is given a Christian application in the alternative at the end. We may give ourselves to a bondage which determines us totally, as is underscored by the materially superfluous εἰς ὑπακοήν and the relative clause ᾧ ὑπακούετε. From a Christian standpoint it becomes apparent that the example is not merely one possibility among others but the basic constitution of mankind as such" (1980, 180).

[51] Daube believed that the apology existed because of the previous phrase ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ which he considered "sub-Jewish"(1956, 154 note 89, 283, 394) and Dodd thought it was "sub-Christian" (1932, 98). Morris, however, says that it is not so much an apology as it is an explanation of why the imagery was used (1988, 264). See also Sanders 1977, 461.

[52] Cf. Rom 3.5; 1 Cor 9.8; and Gal 3.15.

[53] Fitzmyer 1993, 451.

[54] Kaye 1979, 27-28, 133.

(ὅπλα) to be used for evil (ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ) and now are handed over as weapons used for good (δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ).[55] In verse 19 the contrast is similar except that now the members (μέλη) are not weapons (ὅπλα), but slaves (δοῦλοι). The contrast is the same however. Prior to Christ their members were used for evil (ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ); now they should be used for good (δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἁγιασμόν). Rather than focusing on the slavery or military images, it seems better to concentrate on the members (μέλη), which is the subject of both verses. Both the weapon and the slave in these verses reflect the 'Control Restrain' domain and are used interchangeably. Important to Paul is less the images of weapons or slaves than the notion that the members of the individual believers are under control. In a context of referring to 'offering one's members,' it is possible that Paul is apologizing for and explaining this image and not slavery. Images of handing over one's body parts to be used and controlled by someone else, written to a group of people Paul had never met, may have invoked some unsavory images. But it is because of the weakness of their flesh that Paul feels forced to steer the conversation into a discussion of body parts in a way that may have been considered inappropriate by his readers. Barrett seems to suggest as much when he translates Paul's statement here as: "I am giving this all to you in human illustration because your understanding is only human."[56] Thus Paul is not apologizing for his use of slavery imagery or even military imagery. He is explaining the crude image of handing over control of the members of one's body as if they were tools to be manipulated by either sin or righteousness.[57]

In light of the above, it is clear that the slavery images in Romans 6 cannot be linked to images of the Greco-Roman institution with any certainty. The presence of slavery language, the use of a general principle and a supposed apology are not conclusive indicators.

12.3 A Choice and Transfer Between Two Masters

Despite numerous attempts to link slavery in Romans 6 to Greco-Roman images, commentators virtually agree that the contrast offered in the chapter is

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[55] For an explanation of the military imagery in this verse see Dunn 1988, 337; and Fitzmyer 1993, 446-447.
[56] Barrett 1962, 124.
[57] This is similar to Paul's earlier apology in 3.5 where his argument has forced him to crudely attribute an earthly characteristic to God.

between enslavement to one of two masters and not between slavery and freedom.[58] The high occurrence of ἁμαρτία[59] in this chapter in conjunction with δοῦλος[60] results in sin becoming "personified Sin, an actor on the stage of human history, the character that would enslave."[61] When combined with the high occurrence of ὑπακοή[62] and hortatory language, the passage develops into a portrayal of the believers' need to understand themselves as slaves who owe obedience.[63] The question that Paul is addressing, though, is: to which master they will offer this obedience, to sin or to God?

Slavery terms in 6.12-23 are set in a series of antitheses that move back and forth between the pre-Christ event and the believers' post-baptismal identification with Christ. Prior to these verses Paul's discussion in verses1-11 set the stage for the introduction of an eschatological tension. This tension acknowledges the believers' identification with Christ, but also acknowledges that, unlike Christ, they are still very much a part of this world (vv.1-11). The believer has not yet identified with Christ to the point of experiencing resurrection. As long as they remain alive in the present world they will not fully experience the benefits of Christ.[64]

Beginning with v. 12 Paul switches from a dominant usage of the indicative in verses 1-11 to the imperative in vv 12-23. "In verses 1-11 Paul set forth what was meant to have died with Christ in baptism; now in verses 12-23 he sets forth the consequences of the new life that the baptized Christian lives."[65] The balance of these antitheses in 6.12-23 makes it clear "that it would be a mistake to pick out any one verse and give it undue prominence or dominance in the exegesis of the whole."[66]

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[58] Käsemann says, "The problem is misunderstood from the outset if seen in terms of autonomy and emancipation. For all the connections the independence which Stoicism and popular philosophy promise as self-realization must not be read into Paul's statements" (1980, 178). See also Barrett, 1962, 132; Cranfield 1975, 321; Dodd 1932, 97; Dunn 1988, 345; Fitzmyer 1993, 228; Kaye 1979, 120; Rengstorf 1964, 2:274-25; and Sanders 1977, 468-67.

[59] Kaye notes that of the 101 occurrences in the Pauline epistles 73 are in Romans and that chapter 6 has the highest concentration (19 times) in the epistle followed closely by chapter 7 (16 times) (1979, 30, 34).

[60] As noted above chapter 6 contains 9 occurrences of slavery terminology in Romans, a full 50 percent of the total found in the epistle.

[61] Fitzmyer 1993, 430.

[62] Dunn notes that Paul's usage of the term is sparse outside of Romans (only 9 times in the other Pauline epistles, 4 in the disputed epistles and none in the Pastorals) and the fact that 5 of its 11 occurrences in the epistle occur in chapter 6 makes its thematic importance here obvious (*Romans*, 336).

[63] Fitzmyer 1993, 444.

[64] Dunn 1988, 332.

[65] Ibid., 444.

[66] Ibid., 335-36.

Therefore, in order to analyze all of Paul's statements together as a unit, it is necessary to disentangle, as much as possible, his balancing act and discover what it is he is saying about slavery. Rearranging the verses according to parallel themes and vocabulary is one way to illuminate how the logic of Paul's argument develops. Included with the twisted balance is verse 6, which is linked to vv.12-23 by a common theme and vocabulary.

12.3.1 Freedom from enslavement to sin

v.6 - τοῦτο γινώσκοντες ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη
ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας,
τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ·

According to Paul, participation in the Christ event through baptism (6.4-5) destroys the power of sin and the obligation to obey sin. The aorist passive καταργέω indicates that the power of sin is dead, but the combination of μηκέτι with the present infinitive also suggests that the believer could choose to continue in sin.[67] Once one has identified oneself with the Christ event, slavery to sin is no longer a matter of obligation but of voluntary choice.

12.3.2 The Transfer of Allegiance

v.17 - χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας
ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς,

Verse 17 reflects verse 6 in its recognition that Paul's readers have made the choice.to obey sin no longer. The combination of ἦτε (imperfect) with ὑπηκούσατε (aorist) means that the release from slavery to sin was the result of a conscious decision to obey another master.[68] Thus, release from slavery to sin is a conscious transfer of allegiance and obligation from one master to another.

12.3.3 The Change of Master

vv. 12 & 14 -

Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι
εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ,

ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει· οὐ γάρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλὰ
ὑπὸ χάριν.

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[67] Malan 1981, 134; Dunn 1988, 320.
[68] A discussion of the possible meaning of τύπον διδαχῆς and its relevance will be discussed below.

The basis of Paul's imperative statements in this chapter is located in verses 12&14. Obedience derives from the power of grace.[69] Because of the Christ event, sin is no longer the ruler/lord of the believer. There has been a change of controlling influences and obligations over the believer that reflects a change of masters.

12.3.4 Slaves in Obedience

vv. 13, 16, 19

μηδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλαδικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ.

οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοι ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε, ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην

Ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὕτως νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἁγιασμόν

These verses reveal that just as believers had willingly placed themselves in slavery to sin (the reflexive ἑαυτοὺς suggest the idea of a voluntary action), now (νῦν i.e. after baptism) they are persuaded to place themselves willingly in slavery to righteousness.[70] According to Paul, slavery is the result of willing obedience. Believers are the slaves of whomever or whatever they choose to obey.

12.3.5 Freedom to be Enslaved

vv. 18, 20, 22

ἐλευθερωθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.

ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.

νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Freedom here is not contrasted with slavery, but with obligations rendered to a master. Slaves of sin are free from the righteous obligations of the controlling agency of God.[71] Slaves of God are freed from the obligations to the controlling agency of sin.[72] In the context of the 'Control Restrain' domain, it would be a mistake to view

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[69] Käsemann 1980, 176.
[70] Aageson 1996, 82.
[71] It is commonly recognized that the presence of Righteousness in these verses is a metonymy for God and does not constitute a third 'controlling party' but the master who is contrasted with Sin. (Malan, 133).
[72] Aageson 1996, 81.

freedom here as an allusion to manumission.[73] Nothing indicates that this freedom represents self-determination. It is the state of being under the enslaving control of one master that frees the individual from being obligated to the control of the other master.[74] Freedom, then, is the *event*, not the status, that allows the transition from slavery to sin to slavery to God.[75] In the larger context of Paul's balance between indicative and imperative statements, the *event* is the believer's baptismal identification with Christ.

12.3.6 The Slaves of God

vv. 21 & 23

τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἴχετε τότὲ ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε, τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος.

τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος, τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

These verses sum up the results of slavery. Sin and God are each potential masters that individual believers may choose to obey. This choice, however, is not just between sin as master and God as master; it is between eternal life (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) and eternal death (τέλος θάνατος).[76] The believer's pre-Christ life is evaluated as a period of shame in which death was earned (ὀψώνια).[77] Enslavement to God, however, is not a matter of earning but receiving. It is a matter of identifying with Christ and receiving the gift of life from God (χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ).

At this point it is possible to offer a brief summary of Paul's statements: (1) slavery to sin is axiomatic to human existence; (2) the Christ event provided the opportunity for individuals to choose not to remain enslaved to sin; (3) this choice entails a transfer of allegiance and a change of master, from sin to God; (4) this transfer is defined by and manifested in acts of obedience to the new master; (5) consequently the transfer is not freedom from slavery but freedom for slavery; (6) those who complete this change of masters become the slaves of God.

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[73] *Contra* Dunn 1988, 354.
[74] Verses 18 and 20 present 'Righteousness' as a dative of respect meaning 'in relation to' (BDF, §197).
[75] Kaye 1979, 120.
[76] Τέλος here is similar to its function in 5.12 in the sense of a goal or ultimate end (Fitzmyer 1993, 452).
[77] Dunn has suggested that ὀψώνια here could refer to the wages that some slaves in antiquity could earn (1988, 349). But the fact that it is more likely drawn from a military practice and that the passage does not use institutional imagery seems to preclude this suggestion (Cf. Heidland 1967, 5:592; and Caragounis 1974, 35-57).

12.3.7 A Pattern of Teaching

The debate surrounding the meaning of τύπος διδαχῆς in 17b has led to a variety of suggestions. Bultmann thought it was an early gloss and a 'stupid insertion' that destroyed the clear antithesis between verses 17a and 18.[78] Others have suggested that the phrase represents "the ethical teachings of the rule of faith,"[79] a pattern of teaching after which the gospel demands a life should be molded,[80] or Christian teaching in general.[81] Still others have suggested that it represents an abbreviated reference to a baptismal creed that summed up the gospel.[82] It is Dunn's suggestion, however, that seems most plausible and harmonious with Pauline thought as a whole.[83] He notes that τύπος in the Pauline corpus usually involves a personal reference to (a) particular individual(s) who provide(s) a pattern of conduct.[84] The appositional syntax of 6.17 (to whom as a pattern) is similar to Philippians 3.17 and 2 Thessalonians 3.9 (us/ourselves as a pattern) both of which admonish readers to imitate the pattern they have before them. Dunn concludes that τύπος διδαχῆς in verse 17b represents Christ as a pattern of behavior to whom believers render obedience.[85] Obedience to Christ's pattern stands in opposition to previous activities as slaves of sin (17a). To imitate Christ's pattern is to *not* be a slave of sin.

12.3.8 Slavery to God as the Ultimate Goal

Two further points of interest should be noted in conjunction with the object of slavery in 6.12-23. First, Paul does not exhort believers to become slaves of Christ as a result of their baptismal identification with him. In fact, the idea of slavery to Christ is not present in this passage at all. The focus of the slavery language is on God as the object of slavery through the believers' identification with the Christ event.[86]

Second, in this chapter God stands as the alternative master to sin and not Christ. Neither in Romans nor any of the other Pauline epistles is enslavement to

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[78] As quoted in Cranfield 1975, 324.
[79] Dodd 1932, 98.
[80] Cranfield 1975, 324.
[81] Barrett 1960, 132.
[82] Käsemann 1980, 181; Fitzmyer 1993, 450.
[83] Dunn does not think that the verse refers to a creed because he thinks Romans is too early to be confident that a particular pattern could be developed and recognized by such a simple phrase (1988 344).
[84] See: Rom 5.14; Phil 3.17; 1 Thess 1.7; as well as 2 Thess 3.9 1 Tim 4.12 and Tit 2.7.
[85] Dunn 1988, 343-44, 353.

Christ ever offered as an alternative to enslavement to sin or the passions that lead to sin.[87] In Galatians 4.8-9 and 1 Thessalonians 1.9, it is God who stands in opposition to enslaving idolatry not Christ. Thus slavery to God is the ultimate goal of the believer. Christ, as in Philippians and Galatians, is presented as a paradigm for believers to follow in order that they might serve God (6.17b). Christ is the paradigmatic slave of God. By identifying with and obeying Christ, believers fulfill their obligations as the slave of God.

12.3.9 Exodus Imagery in Chapter 6

Since the slavery language in chapter 6 cannot be linked to the Greco-Roman institution with any certainty and since the chapter is not a contrast between slavery and freedom but between slavery to two different masters, it seems possible that Exodus imagery influenced Paul. Given the concern to explain how believers become obedient slaves of God, Paul would have quite naturally described this from his own heritage as a Jew.[88] As noted in Part One, Jews recognized that they become slaves of God through the Exodus. The Exodus was not an event that represented freedom from slavery (i.e. as an opportunity for self-determination), but was a transferring between masters. Israel left Egypt having been freed from their obligation to serve Pharaoh so that they might become obedient slaves to God.[89] When subsequent events of enslavement occurred, they were often interpreted in the context of a Second Exodus and current leaders were cast in the role of a Second Moses leading a return from slavery under one king to slavery under God.[90] Paul creates this same picture for his readers. The Christ event, like the Exodus, transfers the believer from one master to another. Through their identification with the Christ event, believers were freed from their obligation to serve sin in order that they might serve God. Romans 6 is not, therefore, a declaration of freedom, but a declaration of enslavement.[91] This is not to suggest, however, that Paul specifically had the Exodus in mind when he wrote

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[86] This is confirmed by the fact that the prepositions (διὰ and συν) that Paul uses in relation to Christ in chapters 5 and 6 consistently refer to Christ as the facilitator of the transfer between masters and not the master to whom the believer is ultimately attached.

[87] This has also been observed by R.A. Horsley who says: " It is noteworthy that in passages where slavery is used metaphorically for the human predicament under sin, the Law, and Death, Christ does not appear as a new or better or alternative slave master" (1998, 170).

[88] Martin notes that while slavery to sin reflects a common notion in the moral philosophers, the believers' relationship as enslavement to God is not generally found in the moral philosophers (1990, 50).

[89] See above § 3.3.

[90] See above § 4.1.

the chapter (*contra* Wright), but that his understanding of enslavement to God was naturally shaped through the prism of the Exodus. R.A. Horsley has also expressed this point:

> To suggest that slavery in Romans 6-7 is a "salvific image ... recalling the benefits a slave might expect from a good master as opposed to a bad one" (Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, 62) quite literally *domesticates* Paul's sweeping salvation-historical argument. It risks making a subordinate image (slavery) into the dominant emphasis in the overall argument, and misses the background of Paul's way of thinking in the Israelite biblical tradition.[92]

And

> He (*Paul*) stands in the Israelite tradition that understands its historical liberation from bondage to human rulers (Egypt, etc.) as involving a continuing commitment in service of God, who required obedience to the fundamental covenantal principles of social cooperation and solidarity.[93]

Similarities may also be identified between Paul's approach to slavery in chapter 6 and that of his Jewish contemporaries examined in Part One. In *T. 12 Patr.* willingness to sin was understood as enslavement to the passions which led to sin and consequently made it impossible to obey God.[94] The *Letter of Aristeas* claims that the only way to check sinful passions is to be enslaved to God (256-57). Like Paul, Philo believed that all humans are enslaved in their soul and that ultimately they must choose whether to serve their passions or God.[95] He considered enslavement to passions to be a rejection of God and dismissed the notion of self-rule in favor of being enslaved to God.[96] Philo also believed that a transfer could occur between masters. Using the example of Esau, Philo demonstrated that physical enslavement could sometimes be an avenue for transferring the soul from enslavement to passions to enslavement to God (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.192-94).[97] Similar to Paul, these authors considered sin and the passions which lead to sin as a form of enslavement, which contrasted with enslavement to God. People are enslaved to whomever (or whatever) they willingly obey. They are enslaved either to sin/passions or God. In all these

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[91] The idea that believers choose between two master has an interesting parallel with Joshua 24.14-15 where after being reminded of the Exodus events the people are asked to choose whom they will serve.
[92] Horsley 1998, 173.
[93] Ibid., 176.
[94] *T. Jud* 15.2; 18.6; *T. Asher* 3.2; *T. Jos* 7.7-8.
[95] *Alleg. Int.* 2.49; 3.193-94, 198-99.
[96] *Planting* 53.6; *Heir* 6-9; *Dreams* 2.100.
[97] See above §6.3.2.

cases, a transfer from one master to another, as had taken place in the Exodus, needed to occur in order to be freed of the one and to serve the other.

12.3.10 Summary of analysis in Chapter 6

Paul understands the enslavement of humanity as an indisputable reality. For Paul it is never a question of being slave or free. It is only a matter of to whom one is enslaved.[98] On the one hand there is sin and on the other hand God.[99] Paul assumes that slavery to sin is the situation that all find themselves, but claims that identification with the Christ event is the way to be released from the obligation of obedience to sin and fulfill the obligation of obedience to God.[100] Identification with the Christ event includes not only baptism, but also imitating the paradigm of Christ (6.17). By identifying with Christ and imitating his example, the believer becomes a slave of God and fulfills the obligations of obedience to God.

Like his Jewish contemporaries, Paul could understand slavery in the context of the Exodus. Individuals were enslaved to one master or the other, either to sin or to God. Slavery to sin, which meant obedience to sin, made it impossible to obey God. By transferring their allegiance to God, humans could experience an Exodus type of event that caused a change in masters. For Paul, that Exodus was found in the Christ event and the believer's baptismal identification with it.

Yet there is also the sense in which the eschatological tensions of chapter 6 reflect the real possibility of a believer's defection or relapse into sin.[101] The power of sin still rules the world and threatens the bodily existence of the believers. Consequently the life of the believer belongs to a future eschatological age and is always under attack from the powers that rule the present age.[102] As Dunn concludes: "So long as they are in this body there is the very real likelihood that particular deeds and actions will advance the cause of unrighteousness."[103]

The kind of slavery Paul describes in 6.12-23 is of a voluntary nature. Whereas prior to Christ all were enslaved to sin, after the Christ event believers have

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[98] Rengstorf 1964, 2: 275.
[99] "Paul assumes that men will be slaves, and obedient, to a good master or bad. Independence is impossible" (Barrett 1962, 123).
[100] Käsemann similarly notes: "Paul regards freedom as the determinative relation of Christian obedience vis-à-vis the world. It is presupposed here as elsewhere that a person belongs constitutively to a world and lies under lordship. With baptism a change of Lordship has been effected. The new *Kyrios* sets those who are bound to him into freedom from powers and necessities" (1980, 179).
[101] Dunn 1988, 337.
[102] Käsemann 1980, 176; Dunn notes that the problem Paul is addressing is the continuing role of sin and death in relation to the believer (*Romans*, 336).

the ability to choose whom they will serve. Slavery is still the end result. The difference, however, is that before the Christ event individuals were inextricably bound to serve sin. Now slavery is voluntary.

12.4 Slavery in Chapter 7

In 7.1-6 Paul uses a marriage illustration to restate the post-baptismal position of the believer in relation to the law and sin.[104] Though God is not specifically mentioned in conjunction with the slavery language present in 7.6 (δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος), the preceding discussion in chapter 6 clearly indicates that God is the object.[105] The contrast in vv. 5 and 6 between 'when' (ὅτε) and 'now' (νυνὶ) describes the difference between the pre-baptismal condition of humanity and the eschatological status of a believer who has identified with Christ in baptism (i.e. the voluntary transference from slavery to sin to slavery to God).[106]

Thus 7.5-6 may be regarded as a carefully balanced outline of what follows in 7.7-8.30. The pre-baptismal 'when' statement in verse 5 is developed further in 7.7-25a. The eschatological 'now' statement in verse 6 is developed in 7.25b-8.30. For Paul, the relationship of the believer to Christ and the law can only be understood from the standpoint of baptism. Thus, "the time before baptism and the time after baptism must be carefully distinguished."[107] One way Paul does this is through a mixture of military and slavery images that describe the plight of humanity prior to the Christ event and baptism.

12.4.1 Slavery before the Christ Event (7.7-25)

Significant efforts have been undertaken in order to determine both the function and interpretation of 7.7-25. Central to these efforts has been the identification of the enigmatic figure ἐγώ and whether the experience attributed to this ἐγώ is intended to describe the pre-Christian Paul, the typical encounter of humanity/Jews with the law, or the struggles of the Christian Paul. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to interact on a broad scale with the debate surrounding this difficult passage, a brief summary can be provided in order to outline the approach taken here.[108]

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[103] Dunn 1988, 350.
[104] Dunn 1988, 366; Sanders 1977, 497.
[105] Barrett 1962, 138; Cranfield 1975, 339; Fitzmyer 1993, 459.
[106] Dunn 1988, 366; Fitzmyer 1993, 459; Peter Stuhlmacher, 1994), 104.
[107] Stuhlmacher 1994, 104.
[108] O'Neill's argument that Paul did not write 7.14-25 (1975, 131) is not convincing and has been criticized by Dunn for its narrow and lopsided perception of Paul's use of σάρξ (Dunn 1988, 377).

W.G. Kümmel interpreted ἐγώ as a fictive figure that represented humanity in general. He suggested that it was a purely rhetorical device used by Paul to describe how humans are able to assent to the law without being able to accomplish the requirements of the law. Having examined the function of ἐγώ in other Pauline passages and antique literature, Kümmel concluded that 7.7-25 presented a general idea in which Paul did not include himself.[109] Kümmel's conclusions have been called into question, however, by those who point out that a purely fictive interpretation of ἐγώ stands in contradiction to the surrounding context. Paul's use of the first person singular identifies him with the readers and suggests that Paul is speaking of himself at least in some typical or representative manner for all of humanity.[110] In his criticism of Kümmel's method, Gerd Theissen demonstrates that most of the parallels in Paul and other literature cited by Kümmel are not comparable.[111] Theissen suggests that a better approach is one in which ἐγώ is seen to combine both typical and personal traits.[112]

The shortcomings of the fictive view have helped to perpetuate an interpretation that regards Romans 7.7-25 as a description of Paul's pre-conversion life in Judaism.[113] The advantage of this approach is its ability to account for Paul's usage of the first person in the passage as well as elements in 7.14-25 that seem to exclude any possible Christian experience. Criticism of this interpretation focuses on the confession in 7.21-24 of the imprisonment of ἐγώ under sin which seems to reflect a Christian rather than pre-Christian perspective. Likewise, ascribing pre-conversion doubt and anxiety in fulfilling the law to Paul does not cohere with his statements to

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[109] Kümmel (1929) was followed by Bultmann who interpreted the plight of ἐγώ as existential and transsubjective. Bultmann argued that the human propensity to seek life and establish itself only led to the consequence of death (1951, 1: 245). In addition to the difficulties encountered by Kümmel, the misunderstanding of Judaism as a religion that encouraged Jews to peruse the law in order to gain life hindered Bultmann's interpretation. Similarly Conzelmann says "Here Paul is describing man in revolt . . . He is not, however, picturing his feelings before conversion, but the way in which he later came to know himself through faith" (1969, 163). For an evaluation of these approaches and others see: Seifrid 1992, 313-333.

[110] Seifrid 1992, 314.

[111] Theissen 1987, 199-200.

[112] Ibid., 201.

[113] Beker concludes: "Romans 7 is not a description of Christian life or primarily an autobiography of Paul's Pharisaic life. Rather, a Christian looks here, in the context of an apology of the law, in hindsight at the plight of Jews under the law and describes their objective despair . . . a Christian interpretation of Jewish existence under the law is the primary subject of Romans 7" (1980, 238). Moo says "In vv. 7-12, then, it seems best to conclude that Paul describes the experience of Israel at Sinai but uses the first person because he himself, as a Jew, has been affected by that experience" (1986, 129). Morris says: "Paul is referring to his pre-conversion experience . . . describing his confrontation with the law, but doing so representatively" (1988, 277).

the contrary in Philippians 3.6. Moreover, the opening and closing present tense markers make it difficult to view 7.7-25 as a discussion of Paul's past.[114]

The limitations of these interpretations have led some to suggest that Paul was not referring to his past life or to a generalized human experience, but to his own experience as Christian which is at the same time typical for all Christians. The struggle voiced by ἐγώ (and thus Paul) is a result of being caught in the eschatological tension created by living in the overlapping ages of Adam and Christ.[115] This is the typical experience of all Christians. The advantage of this interpretation is that it accounts for the present tense in the passage and it plays down the conflict between Paul and Judaism.[116] While the proponents of this view are certainly correct to emphasize the eschatological aspects intrinsic in the passage, some difficulties remain. The overall structure of both chapters 7 and 8 seems to indicate that 7.14-25 has to do with the person apart from Christ. As noted above, the 'when' (ὅτε) statement of 7.5 seems to correspond to conditions described in 7.7-25 while the eschatological 'now' (νυνὶ) of 7.6 corresponds to conditions described in 8.1-30.[117] Theissen argues that an appeal to the change from past to present tenses in 7.13-14 is not marked sufficiently enough to suggest that Paul is shifting to a discussion of the Christian life from the pre-Christian life.[118] Moreover, the powerlessness of ἐγώ in 7.14 would seem to stand in direct contrast to the believer's ability to resist the power of sin as portrayed in both chapters 6 and 8.

This thesis regards Romans 7.7-25 as a description of the typical pre-Christian life from the perspective of faith.[119] Such an approach seems the best way to reconcile the powerlessness of ἐγώ under the power of sin with the surrounding context.[120] What Paul does here is to describe more fully the plight of life under sin as

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[114] Seifrid 1992, 317-318.
[115] Dunn 1988, 396.
[116] Cranfield 1975, 356.
[117] Seifrid 1992, 319.
[118] Theissen 1987, 188.
[119] Sanders 1977, 443. Stowers suggests that in 7.7-25 Paul uses a Greek literary device known as 'Speech in Character' (προσωποποιία). This involves the introduction of an imaginary character, usually in the first person, to describe a particular situation with words that are appropriate to both the character and the subject matter. The character does not represent the author but is a 'type of character.' Stowers argues that 7.7-25 is consistent with this technique as it is discussed in ancient rhetorical handbooks and should be interpreted as such. He also demonstrates that Origen interpreted the passage this way, which may lend support to such an interpretation in modern times. Thus, according to Stowers, understanding 7.7-25 as a rhetorical device precludes the need for commentators to search for the identification of 'I' in the passage (1994, 180-201).
[120] Sanders' suggestion of 'solution proceeding plight,' has been adopted as the method of approach here. In 6.6-7.6 Paul described the solution, which was the believer's transference from one master to

described in 7.5.[121] Aspects of eschatological tension are present, but only in 7.25b where Paul shifts away from his description of life under sin and returns to his discussion of life in the eschatological age described in 8.1-30. One way this shift in Paul's discussion may be demonstrated is through an analysis of the way slavery language functions in the passage.

12.4.2 Sold under Sin (7.14)

As noted above, Paul uses military images in this passage to help the reader understand and perhaps identify with the situation of ἐγώ (7. 8, 11, 23, 24). Located within the military language is the complaint by ἐγώ of being "sold under sin" (v. 14b - πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν), a statement that some have connected to images of institutional slavery. The Greek term πιπράσκω is often used to describe the act of selling something, including (but by no means limited to) a slave.[122] When combined with the common assumption that chapter 6 uses imagery from Greco-Roman slavery, some commentators have incorporated this imagery into their translation of 7.14b even though slavery language is not present. For instance: "I am sold as a slave to sin,"[123] I am sold in bondage to sin,"[124] "I am sold (as a slave) in such a way as to come under the power of sin."[125] Difficulty with this translation, however, can be addressed on three points.

First, the aorist passive form of πιπράσκω indicates that ἐγώ has been sold by a third party. This is rather different than the practice of self-sale, which some had claimed is alluded to in 6.16. It was noted above that slavery in chapter 6 should be understood in the context of 'control' and that the language indicated a voluntary choice of whom to obey and be controlled by. The question in 7.14b then is who sold ἐγώ [126] and if this is how the verse is to be understood, why has Paul switched from

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another through the Christ event. Having presented the solution, he now elucidates the problem, namely, the weakness of the law to provide transference from the controlling power of sin (1977, 443).

[121] While vv. 7-25 is not a digression per say in Paul's argument (*contra* Barrett, *Romans*, 140), it does interrupt the flow introduced by the eschatological νυνὶ in 7.6 and ends with the resumption of the eschatological νύν in 8.1 (Fitzmyer 1993, 459).

[122] See Gen 31.15; Deut 28.68; Isa 50.1; Matt 18.34; Mk 14.5; Acts 4.34; 5.4.

[123] Dunn believes that the occurrence of the military term ἀφορμὴ in 7.8,11 conveys the idea of a 'successful surprise attack' and since captives in war were often sold into slavery this must be what is meant in 7.14b (1988, 388, 406).

[124] Fitzmyer connects this verse with Isaiah 50.1 LXX where God is said to have sold Israel for their sins [ἰδοὺ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν ἐπράθητε; see also 11QPs 19.9-10;] (1993, 472, 474). The difficulty with this link, however, is that Isaiah clearly identifies that it is God who is doing the selling whereas Romans does not identify the seller.

[125] Barrett 1962, 146.

[126] Käsemann says that we should not ask who has sold "I" to sin because ἐγώ refers to humanity under the shadow of Adam (1980, 200).

voluntary enslavement to images of non-voluntary enslavement (i.e. being sold)? This is not consistent with his previous use of the language.[127] Cranfield attempted to interpret the verse in light of the captivity language in verse 23, but this does not follow a logical sequence, as it requires the 'sale' to take place before the 'capture.'[128]

Second, an examination of the NT, LXX and non-Jewish/Christian Greek writings from antiquity reveals that πιπράσκω is used to indicate the sale of a variety of things including slaves (e.g. Ps 104.7; Matt 18.35; Acts 2.9).[129] There are some instances, however, when the term does not denote a 'literal sale' but functions as a euphemism for being betrayed or ruined.[130] For instance, in Euripides' tragedy *The Daughters of Troy* Helen pleads with Menelaus for her life and laments that her beauty has betrayed (sold) and ruined her (ὠλόμην ἐγὼ εὐμορφία πραθεῖσα, κὠνειδίζομαι).[131] In Xenophon a victorious king who has refused to pay his army their wages is accused of betraying (selling) their trust in him (τὸ πιστεύθαι . . . πιπράσκεται).[132]

Examples of this usage are also found in LXX tradition. In 1 Kings 23.7 Saul finds David trapped in the city of Keilah and claims that God is betraying (selling) David into his hands (Πέπρακεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς εἰς χεῖράς μου). The idea here seems to be that David was put under the control of Saul. In Greek Esther 7.4 Haman is accused of betraying (selling) the Jews over to destruction (ἐπράθημεν γὰρ ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ λαός μου εἰς ἀπώλειαν).[133] In Judith 7.25 the term describes the feeling that God, for no apparent reason, has betrayed (sold) the besieged city of Bethulia into the hands of their enemies (ἀλλὰ πέπρακεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν). While the end result of this 'sale' may lead to captivity and enslavement, the sense of the narrative is not that God

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[127] Louw and Nida note that, "in a number of languages, however, it may be important to use a distinctive term for selling a person into slavery. In fact, it may be necessary to describe the event rather explicitly, for example, 'to receive money for handing a person over to someone else to be a slave.'" (Louw and Nida, 1988, 1989, §57.186).

[128] Cranfield concedes in a note that the evidence for πιπράσκω being used here to sell a slave is "not absolutely certain"(1975, 357 note 4).

[129] Also notable is the idea that individuals sold themselves or their children to do evil against the Lord [ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν] (3 Kings 20.20,25; 4 Kings 17.17; 1 Mac 1.15; 23.7).

[130] Liddell & Scott, 1395; Preisker 1968, 160.

[131] Euripides, *Troy*, 936.

[132] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 26. 7.7.26.

[133] The LXX tradition adds that the Jews were also being sold into slavery, but in the Hebrew Esther says that being sold into slavery would have been bearable in comparison with what Haman had planned. Also the edict that Haman has proclaimed against the Jews only mentions their destruction and plunder of property and not the possibility of enslavement (Est 3.13-15). Thus the LXX here seems to misunderstand the Hebrew, as the idea of selling into slavery does not fit into the storyline.

has 'sold' Bethulia into slavery, but has handed them over to Assyria.[134] The possibility of enslavement that arises in this passage is not the result of God 'selling' Bethulia, but a decision by the people of Bethulia that, in light of God's abandonment of them, slavery under Assyria is preferable to death.

These examples demonstrate that πιπράσκω is not a technical term that should necessarily be connected to slavery. It is possible to translate Romans 7.14b simply as 'sold under sin' without introducing connotations of slavery that appear to be implicit or missing. The examples of the term's usage also leads to another possible way of understanding πιπράσκω as 'betrayed by' or 'falling under the control of' sin. The military setting of many of the above passages is comparable to the images of battle in Romans.[135]

In 7.7-13 Paul declared that the law was a good thing in that it instructed ἐγώ concerning the difference between right and wrong. Sin, however, used the law in a deceptive way (ἀφορμὴν vv. 8,11) and caused ἐγώ to experience death. Sin used that which was good (the law) to betray and place ἐγώ under its control. This is clearly seen in 7.5-22 where ἐγώ proclaims a desire to obey the law, but is ambushed by sin's use of the law and is led into disobedience. Thus, Paul is not describing the 'sale' of ἐγώ to sin in 7.14b, but the deceitful way that sin used the law to betray and gain control over ἐγώ. Because ἐγώ is 'fleshly', and therefore weakens the power of the Law (8.3), πιπράσκω in 7.14b demonstrates the betrayal felt when the law is used by sin to take control. When placed in the larger context of Paul's understanding of slavery in the 'control-restrain' domain of the previous chapter, 7.14 is a picture of how it is impossible for pre-Christian humanity to obey the law. This picture is made even clearer as Paul describes the way sin has captured and controlled the individual in 7.15-23.

12.4.3 Under the Control of Sin and Involuntary Enslavement

The war against the mind of ἐγώ in 7.23 is of one who has been captured by sin, not sold to it. As noted in Part One, αἰχμάλωτος was a term commonly used to describe those who had become enslaved to their enemies with the idea of being controlled against their will.[136] In the context of the military/battle language and the frustrated cry preceding this verse, it is clear that the success of sin in the flesh has

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[134] This is similar to the way God is described as 'selling' David into the hands of Saul (1 Kings 23.7).
[135] Though Esther 7.4 is not in the context of a 'battle' it is certainly in the context of a 'sneak attack' led by the military ruler Haman upon an unsuspecting people and is comparable to Romans.

made ἐγώ an unwilling slave under its control. Thus the type of slavery that Paul has been describing up to this point is involuntary slavery. This is markedly different from the slavery of 6.12-23 in which baptized believers have the ability to choose from one of two masters. The description of ἐγώ in 7.15-22 is of an individual who has no choice but to do what the master (i.e. sin) commands.

12.4.4 Slavery and Tension in the Pre-Eschatological age (7.24-25)

In 7.24 Paul allows the ἐγώ to utter a cry of frustration and desperation. This is immediately answered in 7.25 by an utterance of thanksgiving which proclaims an end to the predicament of ἐγώ through God's activity in Christ.[137] It is Paul's statements in these verses that have led Cranfield and Dunn to interpret 7.7-23 as a description of the post-baptismal believer. Cranfield views 7.24 as a picture of Christian experience that portrays "their perception of the heights to which God calls them, and the more painfully sharp their consciousness of the distance between what they ought, and want, to be, and what they are."[138] Dunn, noting that 7.24 is the cry of a person pulled in two different directions, says that which evokes the cry by ἐγώ is "the eschatological tension of being caught between the two epochs of Adam and Christ, of death and life."[139] Both Cranfield and Dunn interpret the thanksgiving utterance in 7.25 not as an already accomplished deliverance, but as a cry that anticipates an eschatological deliverance.[140] The situation of dual slavery in 7.25b is then concluded to be nothing more than a further explanation of the split which ἐγώ experiences in the eschatological age, enslavement both to sin and to God.

Cranfield and Dunn are correct to emphasize the eschatological tension in this passage, but their location of the tension is misplaced. By overlooking that the type of slavery Paul describes in 7.7-23 is of an involuntary nature, they miss the nuance that Paul is making about slavery and the eschatological age. The situation of ἐγώ in 7.14-23 is such that even though the law of God is recognized as good, it remains impossible to serve God because ἐγώ has been captured under the control of and involuntarily enslaved to sin. But with the utterance of 7.25a and the new situation under Christ circumstances change and the predominant sense of slavery found in chapter 6 is active again. Under the control of Christ there exists for the first time the

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[136] Kittel 1974, 1:195-96. See also above §2.2.1.
[137] Fitzmyer 1993, 473.
[138] Cranfield 1975, 366.
[139] Dunn 1988, 396.
[140] Cranfield 1975, 367-68; Dunn 1988, 397.

possibility of voluntarily choosing to serve God. With this change in the type of slavery, from involuntary to voluntary, Paul now directly draws on the eschatological tension implicitly present in his exhortations (indicatives/imperatives) in 6.12-23. In the eschatological age of Christ, it is possible for post-baptismal believers to serve God voluntarily even though they will be subjected to attacks by and even yield to sin. The eschatological tension is located, then, not in all of 7.14-25, but in v. 25b only![141] Until the thanksgiving utterance in v. 25a Paul has been describing the condition of unredeemed humanity in the manner in which it is subsequently seen by redeemed humanity.[142] 7.25a is not a climactic end to the eschatological tension of ἐγώ, but a realization of what has been achieved in Christ for humanity as well as an acknowledgment by Paul that split loyalties are possible in the eschatological age. It is with this statement that Paul shifts back to the eschatological discussion introduced in 7.6 and proceeds with a fuller explanation in 8.1-4.[143]

12.5 Slavery in Chapter 8

The eschatological now (νῦν) in 8.1 signals that Paul has returned to the discussion in 7.6.[144] This is not a new discussion but a resumption of what Paul was explaining about being a slave of God in the context of the eschatological age. The 'freedom' of this eschatological age in 8.2 is similar to the 'freedom' described in 6.18. It is a freedom from sin and an opportunity to live in righteousness, not a license to practice self-determination. In the eschatological age believers are able, through the Spirit, to live in righteousness even though they may still suffer the effects and consequence of sin in their mortal body (8.10).

12.5.1 Freedom from Slavery under Sin in the Eschatological age

In 8.12-17 Paul once again contrasts the 'pre-' and 'post-' baptismal condition of the believer. Prior to baptism they were under obligation to sin, but now they have received a new spirit that releases them from slavery to sin and provides them with a new status as the 'sons of God'(v.14).

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[141] Dunn is certainly correct that the believer lives in the overlap of the ages and belongs to both at the same time until such time as the body has experienced resurrection, life has triumphed over death, and full participation with Christ's resurrection has occurred (1998, 475). But by overlooking the nature of voluntary and involuntary slavery in this passage, he observes this eschatological tension as encompassing all of 7.7-25 rather than just 7.25 which, according to my argument, is the better way to understand the tension here.
[142] Bultmann 1924, 212.
[143] Fitzmyer 1993, 476.
[144] Ibid, 459, 481.

The appearance of δουλεία in 8.15 has been identified with a variety of options.[145] As noted above, Keesmaat points out that Paul never uses δουλεία to describe a positive form of enslavement,[146] which is also the case in most of the LXX. Of the 46 times it appears in the LXX, 16 are clear allusions to Israel's time in Egypt and many of the remainder refer to enslavement under a foreign power.[147] In light of this and Paul's use of Exodus imagery in chapter 6, it seems best to identify δουλεία here with the former position of enslavement to sin in the pre-eschatological age described in 6.1-11 from which the Christ event has delivered believers. Baptism has not transferred the believer into a new state that causes them to repeat again the obligations to sin. By identifying with the Christ event in the eschatological age, believers are not only freed from slavery to sin, but receive the gift of adoption (ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας).[148]

The notion of adoption in 8.15 is not made to contrast with slavery as such, but with a particular type of slavery, i.e. to sin.[149] As demonstrated by Scott in Galatians 4.5, Paul's concept of adoption is not derived from Greco-Roman practices but is related to the Jewish tradition surrounding the eschatological interpretation of 2 Samuel 7.14.[150] According to this interpretation, just as Israel was called God's first-born son, released from slavery under Pharaoh and enslaved to God, so also are believers in the eschatological age of the Spirit (Ex 4.22-23). Israel was released from the control of Pharaoh to serve God; the believer was released from the control of sin to serve God. Both are declared by God to be sons and heirs of the promise of Abraham.[151] The Exodus event provided Israel with a status as adopted son and the opportunity to voluntarily choose to whom they would be enslaved (Josh 24.14-18).[152] In the same way the Christ event has provided the believer kinship with God and the opportunity to choose between enslavement to sin and enslavement to God.[153]

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[145] Cranfield identifies δουλεία simply as a Spirit of bondage in comparison with 1 Cor 2.12 (1975, 396). Dunn identifies δουλεία with life under the law (1988, 460). Fitzmyer views δουλεία here as an attitude of slavery from which the Spirit sets the believer free (1993, 499).
[146] Rom 8.14, 21; Gal 4.24; 5.1.
[147] Keesmaat 1999, 67.
[148] Stuhlmacher 1994, 130.
[149] Scott 1992, 265.
[150] For a summary of Scott's hypothesis concerning the concept of adoption in Paul see above § 11.1.2.' See also Stuhlmacher 1994, 129.
[151] Scott 1992, 251-252.
[152] The choice Joshua gives to Israel of 'whom will you serve' is based upon God's call of Abraham, the Exodus event and the entrance into the promise land (24.1-13).
[153] Stuhlmacher 1994, 130.

When Paul's eschatological discussion is brought full circle in 8.21, freedom from slavery under the power of sin is perceived as the destiny not just of humanity but also of all creation (ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας).[154] Using the same δουλεία term that described enslavement to sin in 8.15, Paul argues that just as humanity was enslaved to and freed from sin, so also creation suffers in a form of slavery but will ultimately be freed. The redemptive destiny of creation and the sons/children of God are intrinsically bound together.[155] It is through the freedom of humanity that creation gains its freedom. Yet in 8.22-30 Paul acknowledges once again that this is freedom in an eschatological tension. Believers may be freed from slavery to sin, but there is still an aspect in which there is an even greater completion of the work of Christ. The present life of liberation from sin is lived out in a context in which death and decay still exist, but have no ultimate effect in light of the incomplete work of God through Christ.[156]

12.5.2 Summary of Slavery in Chapters 6,7,8

Through an Exodus shaped prism, Paul conceives of all humanity in a position of enslavement to sin and in need of rescue. Humanity is not only under the control of sin but is impeded from obeying God. God's response to this predicament is a type of second Exodus in the guise of the Christ event. By identifying with the Christ event through baptism, by imitating Christ's example of obedience, and by entering into the post-baptismal eschatological age, believers are freed from the obligations to sin and enslaved to God. But this new position not only delivers them from the slavery under their former master sin, it also makes them adopted sons/children and therefore heirs with Christ to the Abrahamic promise. Likewise, creation is also enslaved and waits for the day when the eschatological age will reach a climax and when it will be freed from its enslavement. In all of this the power of sin, and death (its consequence) are still very much a reality. But the ultimate effect of sin on the life of the believer has been nullified as a result of the baptismal identification with Christ. For Paul, baptism is an exercise in allegiance transference.

12.6 Slavery in Chapters 12, 14 and 16

Slavery language in these chapters does not generally receive extensive treatment (12.11; 14.4, 18; 16.18). While these four occurrences do not focus on the

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[154] Fitzmyer 1993, 507.
[155] Stuhlmacher 1994, 134.
[156] Dunn 1988, 472.

same themes as chapters 6,7 and 8, they do serve a common function in spite of their relative isolation from one another in the epistle.

12.6.1 Life in the Community

Each of the four occurrences appears in the context of a discussion concerning life in the community of the believers. In 12.11 believers are told to serve the Lord (τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες) in the midst of exhortations towards brotherly love, honouring others, contributing to their needs and practicing hospitality. In 14.18 those who are sensitive to the weaker believers in the community are said to be serving Christ (δουλεύων τῷ Χριστῷ). In 16.18 the language portrays a negative perspective that declares false teachers are not the slaves of Christ (Χριστῷ οὐ δουλεύουσιν). In each of these cases the idea of being enslaved or not enslaved to Christ is presented in the context of actions that believers render to one another in the community (ἀλλήλων -12.10; 14.13; 16.16). This is similar to Galatians 5.13 and 6.2 where the idea of fulfilling the law of Christ and bearing one another's burden is also expressed in term of enslavement to one another.[157] While there is no mention in Romans of a law of Christ, it is not impossible to conclude that the τύπος διδαχῆς in 6.17, to which they had become obedient from the heart, would have served the same rhetorical purpose as νόμος Χριστοῦ did in Galatians 6.2. Christ is an example of proper conduct, and those who imitate his conduct are recognized as obedient slaves.

There is also a comparison between Romans 16.18 with Galatians 1.10. In Galatians 1.10 Paul declared himself a slave of Christ in order to show that his opponents were people pleasers who promote another type of slavery and therefore are not slaves of Christ. In Romans 16.18 he similarly declares that that those who are false teachers are also not slaves of Christ but, instead, are enslaved to something else.[158] In Paul's mind the day-to-day actions of serving Christ were evidenced in the way that believers treated one another. Those who mistreated or misguided their fellow believers were declared to be slaves of someone or something other than Christ.

12.6.2 An Illustration from Slavery

In 14.4 Paul presents a brief illustration from the institution of slavery. Paul's choice of οἰκέτης here is the only occurrence of the term in the corpus. As observed,

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[157] Dunn suggests that there maybe be an echo of Jesus' 'slave of all'. This is similar to his suggestion that Galatians 6.2 was reflecting on Jesus tradition (1988, 824).

Paul normally uses δοῦλος, which may suggest that he had a more specific image in mind in 14.4 rather than the general image of slavery portrayed by δοῦλος.[159] The image is that of a household slave who receives either approval or disapproval from the master. In the context of Paul's exhortation to those 'strong in faith' to accept with brotherly love those 'weak in faith,' the image Paul chooses is definitely intended to compare the believers' position as slaves of God with a similar relationship that exists in the institution. But the function of the illustration here reflects the same strategy Paul used in 6.16. Similar to the general principle of 6.16, everyone would agree to the simple maxim that only the master judges the slave. Paul's usage here does not constitute a borrowing of an image to describe enslavement to God, but is a comparison of similar understandings about enslavement.[160] The imagery illustrates why fellow believers should not judge one another; slaves are only answerable to the master and not to fellow slaves or other masters.[161] Consequently, the terminology and the nature of the illustration suggest that this is a unique usage of institutional imagery by Paul and should probably not be considered a source for his concept of slavery to God.[162]

12.7 Paul the Slave of Christ

As noted in the introduction, many commentators have chosen to interpret Paul's claim of slavery to Christ in Romans 1.1 as either an allusion to Greco-Roman slavery or as an honorific designation whereby Paul claimed to stand in the succession of the prophets of God.[163] A few observations in conjunction with Paul's self-identification as slave of Christ in Romans 1.1 should be noted, however. First, this is the only opening of a letter in which Paul addresses his readers by himself. All of his other letters have individuals or unnamed groups that accompany his name especially

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[158] Stuhlmacher also sees a comparison between Paul's statements about his opponents here and in Galatians (1994, 253).

[159] Stuhlmacher suggests that Paul has in mind the imagery of being 'purchased from sin,' which makes the weaker brother a valuable slave because he has been purchased from the power of sin (1994, 223). This seems unlikely, however, because Paul is not addressing issues of salvation here but of community rule and individual obedience to God. To interpret Paul's use of slavery images here as anything more than an illustration from common experience would seem to move beyond the meaning Paul himself intended.

[160] See Psalm 123.2 for a similar usage of the imagery.

[161] Cranfield 1975, 703.

[162] This is not to suggest that Paul might not have been influenced by some aspect of institutional slavery, as evidenced by his usage of this illustration. Paul would have undoubtedly observed many aspects of slavery that paralleled his view of the believers slavery relationship with God. But whether this is the source of Paul's metaphor seems unlikely in light of his usage of slavery images elsewhere.

[163] See the introduction for a more complete discussion of these interpretations.

Philippians 1.1 in which Timothy is included as a slave of Christ.[164] Second, this the only time that 'slave of Christ' is juxtaposed with Paul's claim to be an apostle. The appearance in Galatians 1.10 has been demonstrated to serve the rhetorical function of Paul's argument and thus is not comparable to this passage.[165] Though minor, these differences make comparisons difficult when attempting to assess what Paul may have had in mind when he called himself a slave of Christ and how it was intended to function.

The difficulties some commentators encounter when they approach this phrase is that they attempt to interpret it and its background without first concluding how slavery language has functioned in the rest of the epistle. Dunn, for instance, comes out strongly in favour of a Jewish background for the phrase here, connecting it to Isaiah 49.1-8 (LXX) and concluding that Paul's mission to the Gentiles is in fulfilment of Israel's covenantal role and Jesus' role as the slave of God.[166] Unfortunately, though, Dunn interprets the remaining slavery terms in the epistle from the perspective of Greco-Roman images. Rather than assuming that Paul is mixing metaphors here (Jewish and Greek), a better approach is to ask how the readers of the epistle may have interpreted Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ in conjunction with how he describes slavery in the epistle as a whole. What aspects of slavery to Christ in the epistle would inform readers of how Paul understood himself?

As a result of the above analysis of Romans, it is clear that Paul considered those who identified with Christ in baptism and followed the model of behaviour exhibited by Christ to be slaves of God. But there is an implicit sense that they are also slaves of Christ. Not in the sense that they choose Christ over sin, but that through obedience to Christ's example they are his slaves and consequently the slaves of God. In Philippians believers were exhorted to observe the pattern of Christ, the paradigmatic slave of God. Because Christ had been given the title of 'Lord' (Phil 2.11), he possesses both authoritarial and transforming significance for believers. Christ's authority made him an object of obedience and therefore one becomes a slave of Christ in order to be obedient to God. In Romans, the transforming significance is found in Christ's transference of the believer from one master to another. By obeying

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[164] This is significant because in Philippians Timothy's enslavement for the gospel (2.22) helped to analyze his participation in the greeting. See above § 10.4.2B and 10.5.
[165] *Contra* again Martin who connects 1.10 with the greeting to make δοῦλος Χριστοῦ a leadership designation (1990, 52, 59).
[166] Dunn 1998, 7-8.

Christ and living under his exalted position of authority, one is ultimately obeying God. This is confirmed by Paul's usage of slavery language in the context of community (12.11; 14.4; 16.18). In those passages slavery to Christ was linked to the relationships between believers. The concept of acting correctly towards and serving 'one another' is, as seen in Galatians, a manifestation of obedience to Christ. To the readers of Romans, Christ provided them the means to be freed from sin and enslaved to God. By following the pattern that the slave of God exhibited for them through proper conduct towards 'one another' they can act in obedience to him and consequently be Christ's slaves. Slavery to God is manifested between the believers in the form of obedient slavery under Christ among one another.

In Romans 1.1 Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ may be interpreted as a declaration of his common position with all believers. His position as an apostle is a result of his position as a believer not vice versa.[167] Paul is first of all one who follows the pattern of conduct that was set down by Christ,[168] he has identified with Christ through baptism, he was transferred from enslavement to sin to enslavement to God, and he has submitted to the authority of Christ in the context of the community of the believers. It is through slavery to Christ (i.e. obedience to the teachings about Christ in 6.17) that Paul is able to fulfill his obligations as the slave of God. Thus when Paul calls himself 'slave of Christ' in 1.1, it is not an honorific title or designation of leadership but is a conscious recognition of his position as a Jew, as a slave of God, for whom the baptismal identification with the Christ event has provided a way to fulfill his obligations to God.

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[167] Fee seems to suggest this when he notes that in Philippians 1.1 Timothy does not receive his usual designation of ἀδελφός but participates in the title of δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ with Paul. This, according to Fee, is because at other times Timothy, as also Sosthenes in 1Cor 1.1, is prevented from participation by his lack of apostolic office. Because Paul is not using his apostolic leadership title in the Philippians greeting, Timothy is able to participate in the title because while both are not apostles, both are slaves of Christ (1995, 62).

[168] Barrett 1962, 16.

Chapter 13

Slaves and Free Persons in the First Epistle to the Corinthians

In 1 Corinthians slavery language appears a total of seven times. Of these, five clearly refer to slavery (7. 21, 22, 23; 9.19; 12.13) while 2 are used to describe a situation that is not analogous to a situation of bondage, at least as it was commonly understood in antiquity. The first of these two exceptions is found in 7.15 in the context of advice concerning marriage and divorce where Paul declares that believers are not in bondage when an unbelieving spouse either divorces or abandons them (οὐ δεδούλωται). The second is in 9.27 where Paul says he enslaves his own body (δουλαγωγέω). Both of these instances certainly reflect upon a restricted relationship under the authority of another, but not upon the broader theme of enslavement to God and Christ and, therefore, are not of relevance to this investigation.

In contrast to Philippians, Galatians and Romans, Paul's self-identification as a δοῦλος χριστοῦ is conspicuously absent in the Corinthian letters. This in itself is not unique as the title is missing in 1 Thessalonians as well.[1] It does require, however, a slight change in the methodology used thus far. Rather than examining slavery in the epistle to discover how Paul's readers would have understood his self-identification as a slave of Christ, we shall analyze the epistle to determine how Paul used slavery language and images and to discern how it may have been informed by his broader understanding of the slave of God and slave of Christ motifs. This will be followed by a suggestion concerning why Paul may have chosen not to use the title in 1 Corinthians.

13.1 The Freed Person and the Slave of Christ 7.21-24

The occurrence of slavery language in these verses is unique for three reasons. First, it is the only instance in the undisputed Pauline corpus in which Paul specifically addresses the situation of those in institutional slavery.[2] Second, the occurrence of the phrase δοῦλος χριστοῦ here is the only instance in which Paul combines his understanding of slavery to Christ with a situation of institutional

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[1] It is also missing from 2 Thessalonians (viewed by some as disputed) the disputed epistles and the Pastorals. The closest parallel is found in Titus 1.1 where Paul calls himself Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ which is not used by Paul in any of the other epistles.

slavery.[3] Third, the occurrence of ἀπελεύθερος, a technical term used to denote one who has been freed from the situation of enslavement, is a *hapax legomenon* in Paul and the NT.[4] These factors suggest that this passage is different from anything encountered in Paul thus far.

13.1.1 Social Status and Paul's Theology of Calling

It is generally recognized that 7.17-24 is an *inclusio* in which Paul admonishes the Corinthians not to seek a change of religious or social status in response to their call by God.[5] Paul's 'theology of calling' taught that "God's call had come to the Corinthians without regard to their various religious and social-legal situations . . . any attempt by the Corinthians to 'improve' their relation with God by making any change in their social or religious status was tantamount to *not* continuing in God's call."[6] Previous religious and social status was irrelevant to the believer's position in Christ and the church. In conjunction with this theme Paul introduces some brief comments/instructions concerning the practices of circumcision and slavery.

In 7.21-22 Paul is clearly addressing those who participate in institutional slavery. Even though some believers received their call by God while enslaved, Paul says, "do not worry about it" (μή σοι μελέτω). But he also acknowledges the possibility that their situation could change at some point.[7] Of particular concern for the present investigation is Paul's use of the slave of Christ metaphor in 7.22 as a way to address the situation of the slave. He says:

> ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν,
> ὁμοίως ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἐστιν Χριστοῦ.

A number of commentators agree that the well-balanced sentence in 7.22 is intended to mitigate the importance of slave/free status among the Corinthian

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[2] The epistle to Philemon, of course, refers to Onesimus as a slave, but the letter is not an instance of Paul addressing a slave but the slave's master. The so-called 'Baptismal Formulas' are also not relevant as they state a general principle and are not part of a discussion of institutional slavery.
[3] The situation in 7.21-22 is still different from the Household codes in the disputed and Pastoral Epistles. Here Paul does not dictate the way that slaves should obey masters and fulfill their roles as slaves. The issue is whether or not manumission affects their status in Christ. The household codes, on the other hand, are focused on comparing the slave's obedience to their earthly master with their obedience to God (Eph 6.5-8; Col 3.22-4.1; 1 Tim 6.1-2; Titus 2.9).
[4] Liddell and Scott, 185.
[5] Barrett 1968, 168; Conzelmann 1975, 126; Fee 1987, 307; Mitchell, 1991, 123-25.
[6] Bartchy 1973, 140.
[7] I have nothing to add to the discussion concerning the exegetical problems of 7.21 and the interpretation of the elliptical phrase μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. For a discussion of problems and possibilities see: Bartchy, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, 1973; Harril 1995; and Braxton 2000.

believers by borrowing imagery from the Greco-Roman institution.[8] Paul's use of the technical term ἀπελεύθερος here signals his familiarity with the Greco-Roman practice of manumission. The term acknowledges the possibility that slaves could become free, but it also recognizes that, ultimately, slaves do not become free persons but 'freed' persons. The significant difference between theses two statuses is that one is endemic at birth while the other is obtained after manumission. In Greco-Roman slavery, slaves even when manumitted, still retained a certain amount of obligation, as freed persons, to their former master.[9] In 7.22, the phrase ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου demonstrates that the slave's legal status is no longer of concern, but it also emphasizes the obligation of service the slave owes the Lord. On the other hand, by declaring the free person to be a δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, Paul shows that the free person's legal status also has no bearing in the context of the call of God and, like the ἀπελεύθερος, also owes an obligation of service to the Lord.[10] As Barrett comments: "Both slave and free person stand in the same twofold relation, of freedom and service, to Christ, and their differing social ranks become irrelevant."[11]

Martin also concludes that the passage addresses concerns of social status, but he rejects the idea that Paul is placing the slave and free person on the same level. Instead he suggests that Paul is actually exalting the slave to a position over that of the free person. Martin concedes that declaring the slave an ἀπελεύθερος prevents the slave from becoming ἐλεύθερος thus reducing the free person to the position of the slave while the slave only reaches the position of a freed person rather than a free person. [12] In light of this apparently incongruent shift of status, Martin suggests that the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ in 7.22 represents a new status for the free person. He claims that δοῦλος Χριστοῦ is not a low status rather it is a *lower* status than ἀπελεύθερος Χριστοῦ.[13] If Martin's interpretation is correct, then what Paul has done is to change the situation and status of believers by providing them with new titles. But Martin's interpretation overlooks the broader context of Paul's theology of calling in the passage and, in particular, the discussion of circumcision that has

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[8] Barrett 1968, 171; Fee 1987, 318-18; Collins 1999, 279. Conzelmann suggests that the variation in the parallelism of the verse does not fit and that ἀπελεύθερος means free person rather than freed person (1975, 128). The technical nature of ἀπελεύθερος, however, rules out this interpretation.
[9] Wiedemann 1981, 46.
[10] Bartchy 1973, 180.
[11] Barrett 1968, 171.
[12] Martin 1990, 65-66.
[13] Martin 1990, 67. This interpretation has been adopted most recently by Thiselton 2000, 560.

preceded it.[14] Understanding Paul's theology of calling is key to understanding the passage. Furthermore, it is not Paul's practice to change the social or religious status of a believer; rather he removes the significance of status in light of a mutual calling in Christ, a tactic preserved in the so-called baptismal formulas.[15]

13.1.2 Slave of Christ – Freedman of the Lord

When Paul's statement regarding slavery in verse 22 is compared to his statement concerning circumcision in verse 19, similar rhetorical purposes become clear. In verse 18 Paul discourages those who would seek either to be circumcised or uncircumcised from pursuing the necessary medical procedure. In verse19 he shows how the desires of the circumcised/uncircumcised to attain a different status are flawed. Circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing; neither condition is a benefit over the other in the context of God's call. In verse 21 Paul tells those who are slaves not to be concerned about their status. In verse 22 he declares, in similar fashion to verse 19, that both slave and free are of no consequence in the Lord: one status is not a benefit over the other in the context of God's call.[16] In verse 19 Paul declares that more important than circumcision is that one obeys God. In verse 22 that same rhetoric can be detected. For Paul, slavery is nothing and freedom is nothing; what is important is loyal obedience to Christ. "In the alternative symbolic order Paul is (re)constructing", Horrell notes, "the valuations are completely the reverse of those given to people in dominant social order: the gospel *counterbalances* the differences in worldly status."[17]

What then is the purpose of the expression δοῦλος Χριστοῦ in this passage? When juxtaposed with ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου, it makes freedom paradoxical and analogous to the situation examined in Galatians. In Galatians 5.1 Paul declares that Christ freed believers from the yoke of slavery. In 5.13, however, he mitigates this freedom by warning the Galatians not to use freedom as an opportunity for sin but to enslave themselves to one another. Thus the paradox of 'freedom from slavery' is the requirement of 'slavery to another.' Noteworthy in Galatians 5.13 is the description of freedom as a call (καλέω). This indicates that Paul's 'theology of calling' is also

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[14] Martin does not include a discussion on the idea of 'calling' in relation to this passage.
[15] See Bartchy who has convincingly compared the thought patterns of 7.17-24 with Galatians 3.28 (1973, 162-65).
[16] Compare this also with what Paul says in 11.11 about men and women. Neither male nor female is independent of one another, each requires the other in order to obtain life, and both are dependent upon God for life.

operative here though not to the degree as it is in 1 Corinthians.[18] The call of God creates paradoxical freedom. Those called while slaves are not freed to live a life of self-determination, but a life of restricted service to the Lord. Those called while free persons are made slaves of Christ. Both are in a similar situation in the context of God's call regardless of any actual social status.

Attempting to read too much into the ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου phrase in 1 Corinthians 7.22 overlooks the rhetorical purpose of the verse. Paul's mixture of institutional and metaphorical terminology is a reflection of the unique opportunity to explain his 'theology of calling' to those who are slaves and in the church. By borrowing language and imagery from the life situation of the slave, Paul is able both to acknowledge the (unfortunate?) social status of some while at the same time emphasizing their obligation of service to Christ. The social status of a slave has no bearing on the call of God even if that social status changes at some point.

13.1.3 'Bought with a Price' in 7.23

Following his statements to slaves and still within the *inclusio* of the 'theology of calling', Paul says: τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων. Initially the first half of the verse seems a natural extension of Paul's admonition to the freed person of Christ. But there are, as Bartchy points out, some peculiar features.

In light of the parallelism between 7.18/7.21, between 7.19/7.22, and between 7.20/7.24, 7.23 is not expected and seems to be an intrusion into the passage's logical pattern. Also peculiar is the phrase τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· which seems to fit in with the images of institutional slavery in 7.23, but the same phrase's earlier occurrence in 6.20 in a non-slavery context obscures the meaning here. In both 6.20 and 7.23 the action of 'buying' is ambiguous. The purchaser, the seller and the price paid are not strictly identified. What is clear, however, is that the 'purchase' prevents believers from joining themselves with prostitutes or becoming the slaves of humans.[19]

Some commentators have suggested that in these verses Paul is alluding to the Greco-Roman practice of self-sale. This interpretation takes two forms. The first approach regards 7.23 as addressing individuals who enslave themselves for a limited period of time for social and financial benefits. Paul's statement in 7.23 is a command for the Corinthians to cease this practice. In light of Paul's mitigation of

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[17] Horrell 1996, 160.
[18] Bartchy 1973, 124.
[19] Bartchy 1973, 181.

social status in the passage, this is an attractive interpretation.[20] The second approach understands the verse in light of 1 Clement 55.2 and Ignatius, *Ad Polycarp* 4.3. This is known as 'ecclesial manumission' whereby individuals in the church sold themselves into slavery in order to gain money for a community chest that was used to buy back others who were enslaved.[21] Both of these interpretations are problematic, however. First, it should be noted that in addition to the ambiguities surrounding the first part of the verse, the second half is complicated by the vague term γίνομαι which "seems to refer to any of the ways by which the Christian might become enslaved to anyone else than Christ" and not just self-sale.[22] A further difficulty with this interpretation is the notion of a Corinthian community chest. Harrill has shown that such a 'community chest' probably did not exist in the nascent congregation at the time of Paul's writing the epistle (c.f. 16.2).[23] Thus neither approach satisfactorily removes the ambiguities of the verse nor provides an acceptable interpretation.

Some have attempted to interpret 7.23 in light of the Greek practice of sacral manumission illustrated in the Delphic Inscriptions.[24] Complicating this interpretation, however, is Paul's use of ἀγοράζω. Scholars agree that πρίασθαι was the proper way to describe a deity purchasing a slave. Πρίασθαι does not appear anywhere in the New Testament and Paul's ἀγοράζω does not occur in the inscriptions of sacral manumission.[25] If Paul intended for the 'purchaser' to be understood as God or Christ (through a divine passive), why did he not use the proper terminology after having demonstrated his familiarity with Greco-Roman practices and terminology in 7.22?

Martin's interpretation could be described as a variant form of the explanation based on sacral manumission. He suggests that in 7.23 Paul is portraying a purchase of the slave (the Christian) by Christ that moves the slave not from slavery to freedom but "from a lower level of slavery (the slave of just anybody or slave to sin) to a higher level of slavery (the slave of Christ)."[26] He contends that Paul's use of the phrase τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε serves as a reminder to the Corinthians of an image that

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[20] Robertson and Plummer 1911, 149; Barrett 1968, 171; Winter 1994, 146; Witherington, 1995, 185.
[21] Callahan 1989-90, 110-14; Collins 199, 286.
[22] Bartchy 1973, 181.
[23] Harrill 1995, 107.
[24] Deissmann 1975, 322; Westermann 1948, 61.
[25] Bomer 1957-63, 2:134 n. 9; Bartchy 1973, 124 n. 450; Martin 1990, 63.

would have already been associated with becoming a Christian.[27] Because Christ purchased them they should not become the slaves of any human being.[28] Martin's suggestion is attractive even though the idea of levels of slavery is problematic and the notion of status improvement seems to contradict Paul's most recent statements.[29] It reflects Paul's concept of paradoxical freedom and reinforces the notion that believers were not freed from slavery with the purpose of self-determination but were freed from one master in order to serve another. The difficulty with this interpretation, however, is that it provides more information than the verse does. It identifies the type of slavery Paul has in mind (to sin), the price of the purchase (the cross?), and the purchaser (Christ). Unfortunately, though, "it is not clear exactly what Paul means, and it is certainly not clear how the recipients of his missive would have heard this statement."[30]

In light of the numerous ambiguities in 7.23, it seems more helpful to interpret this verse based on what is known. Whatever the phrase τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε may allude to, it is clear that 6.19-20 denies the believer the right to self-determination (οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν). It also seems best to consider the verse in the context of Paul's theology of calling, which is emphasized by the repetition of the general principle in both 7.17 and 7.24. What Paul may be saying, then, to the whole church and not just to slaves or those in a quandary over circumcision is:

> 'You were bought with a price and have no rights of control over yourselves. Therefore do not allow concerns or tensions over your religious and social status make you slaves of those who promote these things.'

Margaret Mitchell seems to hint at such an interpretation in her analysis of 6.20 and 7.23.[31] Bartchy also hints at this when he maintains on the basis of 7.23: "The verse could be read as an expression in yet another key of the basic exhortation in 7.17-24. That is, to become slaves of men would be to regard social or religious status as more decisive than the calling from God in Christ."[32]

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[26] Martin 1990, 63.
[27] Martin accepts the obstacles that Paul's language presents to the idea of a deity purchasing a slave. He chooses to interpret Paul's use of ἀγοράζω as referring not to the sale of a slave to a deity but to the movement from a lower level of slavery to a higher level of slavery (1990, 63).
[28] Ibid., 63.
[29] See the analysis of Martin's argument in the introduction to this thesis § 1.2.7.
[30] Braxton 2000, 231.
[31] Mitchell 1991, 120.
[32] Bartchy 1973, 182.

Such an interpretation has two advantages. First, it allows Paul's theology of calling to remain central in the passage and does not allow the issues of circumcision and slavery to overshadow his purpose. Second, it retains the force of the slavery metaphor in 7.22,[33] which is the predominant way that Paul uses slavery terminology, and does not obscure his rhetoric concerning the freed person. Reconciling an unclear picture of the purchase of a slave by Christ in 7.23 (if this is in fact the case) with the concept of the freed person in the Lord in 7.22 is awkward and seemingly impossible.[34] By retaining the metaphorical force of δοῦλος in 7.22d, Paul demonstrates that slavery to anyone other than Christ is incompatible with the call of God. This is consistent with Paul's notion of slavery to Christ in Romans and Galatians.[35] It is also, as demonstrated in Part One, consistent with the Jewish notion of slavery to God.[36] The occurrence of the technical term ἀπελεύθερος and the ambiguous phrase τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε demonstrate how the metaphor of slavery has gained a life of its own and can, when needed, use aspects from the institution to make a point. But to make too much of the metaphor's usage of the institution is to overlook the function of the metaphor in a particular situation. Paul has an opportunity to address institutional slaves directly, and he uses their terminology to explain to them his understanding of slavery to Christ.

13.2 Paul as the Free Will Servant of Christ 9.16-23

Some commentators have interpreted 9.16-23 as Paul presenting himself to the Corinthians as a slave of Christ and example of proper conduct.[37] There are some difficulties with this interpretation, however. Clearly observable is that nowhere in this passage or the rest of the epistle does Paul identify himself as δοῦλος χριστοῦ. The only time in 1 Corinthians that Paul uses δοῦλος in conjunction with himself is in 9.19 to describe his voluntary enslavement to others. If Paul intended to call himself a slave of Christ why did he not do so clearly when he so readily had the vocabulary at hand as recently as in 7.22?[38] Moreover, why does Paul not identify Christ as his

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[33] See Fee who also concludes that v. 23 is a continuation of metaphor in v. 22 and rejects the idea of self-sale (1987, 320).
[34] As Braxton notes, "If one seriously attempts to 'embody' Paul's language with concrete Social data, it becomes tortuously difficult to disentangle the metaphor from concrete situations" (2000, 233).
[35] See above §11.4 and 12.6.1.
[36] See the Summary/Synthesis of Part One §8.
[37] Robertson and Plummer 1911, 190-91; Barrett 1968, 209; Bruce 1971, 86; Fee 1987, 420; Marshall 1987, 302; Witherington 1995, 211; Thiselton 2000, 696-97; Collins 1999, 348.
[38] Collins notes that: "The language that Paul uses to describe his task as that of a slave is rather unusual for him" (1999, 345).

'master' in these verses, which he does elsewhere, if he is portraying himself as enslaved to Christ? These missing elements complicate the slave of Christ interpretation of this passage. Even so, this passage is sometimes interpreted this way based not on the occurrence of δοῦλος in 9.23 but on οἰκονομία in 9.19, which is interpreted as an inference by Paul that he is a sort of managerial slave of Christ. The most influential proponent of this interpretation is Dale Martin's *Slavery as Salvation.*

13.2.1 Dale Martin's interpretation of 9.16-23

As noted in the introduction, Martin argues that slave of Christ was a designation for leadership in the early church. He compares Paul's slavery metaphors with the function of Greco-Roman households in which slaves occupied a variety of social levels and shared in the status of their master. Central to Martin's thesis is the position of the managerial slave who was in subordination to the master yet wielded authority over other slaves in the household and was an example of potential upward mobility.[39] When Paul claims in 9.19 that he has been entrusted with an οἰκονομία, Martin argues it is Paul identifying himself as Christ's managerial slave. By describing himself in this way, Paul's terminology would have had a dual effect.[40] To those in the upper class it would have been an offensive self-degradation, but to the lower classes it would have been a positive signal of Paul's high status position within the household of Christ.[41] Both social classes would have recognized that Paul's claim to such a position provided him authority "because it portrays him in a high-status-by-association form of slavery, as a slave of Christ."[42]

In addition to the difficulties surrounding his claim that slave of Christ was a designation of leadership and his understanding of slavery as a vehicle of upward mobility,[43] Martin's approach to 9.16-22 is hampered by his conclusions about the language Paul uses. First, he overlooks that not only does Paul not describe himself as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ in 1 Corinthians, also Paul never describes himself as οἰκονόμος Χριστοῦ. In fact, this phrase does not appear anywhere in the NT.

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[39] Martin 1990, 67.
[40] Ibid., 76. "There is no reason to suppose that language was heard by lower-class persons in the same way as by upper-class educated persons" (148).
[41] Ibid., 83. "Within the common Christian discourse, Paul's slavery to Christ has a positive connotation - as a high-status designation - especially for lower class people" (84).
[42] Ibid., 77. "Paul's self-description as a slave of Christ does not mitigate his authority, but confirms it" (84).
[43] See § 1.2.7 for a complete analysis of Martin's work.

Second, Martin seems to assume that οἰκονόμος and δοῦλος are synonymous terms that represent slavery for Paul. This is not the case, however. Outside of 1 Corinthians Paul only uses οἰκονόμος twice. In Galatians 4.2 it describes those who oversaw the slave labor of Israel in Egypt and does not indicate whether these were slaves themselves.[44] In Romans 16.23 it describes the position of a city official named Erastus, but it has yet to be concluded with any certainty that his title as ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως indicates a servile status.[45] Within 1 Corinthians itself the term occurs 3 times. In 9.17 it is as οἰκονομία which Martin correctly concludes refers to Paul's position as an οἰκονόμος.[46] The remaining two occurrences are in 4.1-2 where Paul describes himself and other apostles as οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ and in which many scholars agree Paul is alluding to in 9.17 when he describes himself as being entrusted with an οἰκονομία.[47] Thus Paul's understanding of his οἰκονομία in 9.17 should be understood in light of what he says about himself as an οἰκονόμος in 4.1-2. Curiously, 4.1-2 does not figure into Martin's analysis of 9.17, which, as will be shown below, is problematic for his hypothesis.[48]

The assumption that οἰκονόμος indicates a slave status is not clear in Paul just as it is not always obvious in its wider Greco-Roman usage. Martin concedes that the term in itself does not necessarily indicate a slave status as is demonstrated in his examination of evidence from inscriptions.[49] The table provided by Martin listing inscriptions referring to οἰκονόμοι and their status underscores the difficulty in determining whether an οἰκονόμος was a slave, freed person or free person.[50] Of the 81 inscriptions catalogued by Martin,[51] only 8 can be identified as slaves, 3 as freed, 12 as free, and another 21 can only be listed as 'probably' slave or freed. A total of

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[44] Even if one does not accept the interpretation of Galatians 4.1 presented in this thesis, the evidence that οἰκονόμος is intended to represent a slave in that passage is not conclusive. See § 11.1.2.
[45] For a complete discussion see: Theissen 1982, 75-83; Clarke 1993, 46-57.
[46] Reumann 1966/7, 156-57.
[47] Fee 1987, 420; Marshall 1987, 303; Witherington 1995, 210-11; Thiselton 2000, 696; Collins 1999, 348.
[48] In fact, I find no evidence anywhere in Martin that he considered the implications that 4.1-2 might have on his work.
[49] Martin 1990, 16-17, 74-75. "The term *oikonomia* does not in itself necessarily indicate a slave status; it is a flexible term used in a wide variety of contexts. The primary meaning of the word has to do with the management of a household and, by extension, the management of businesses, cities, states and governments" (74).
[50] Martin 1990, 174-176.
[51] These inscriptions range from the fourth century BCE to the second century CE and are predominantly from locations in Greece and Asia Minor.

41, roughly half, are of unknown status making identification impossible. Indeed a total of 62 of the inscriptions, roughly 75 percent, offer no evidence in support of a conclusion that οἰκονόμος usually indicated a slave status. Examination of papyri documents by G.H.R. Horsley also reveals that the term may refer to a slave status but this is no more conclusive than the inscriptional evidence.[52] John Reumann has demonstrated that the term was commonly used in cultic contexts to describe those who were responsible for acquiring and performing sacrificial rituals or acting as financial benefactors for the cult.[53] An inscription in Ephesus that describes an οἰκονόμος who petitioned the gods on behalf of the city leads Reumann to comment: "This *oikonomos* must have been a citizen holding a fairly important office, *no mere slave*,[54] for the city to address the gods through him."[55] Finally, the question over Erastus' status in Corinth as ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως is also useful. While it is impossible to determine his slave or free status by virtue of his title, Gerd Theissen has rightfully cautioned that while in nearby Sparta οἰκονόμος may clearly indicate slave status, "before drawing inferences from that for the circumstance in Corinth, however, something else must be considered. Corinth was a Roman colony, and its political circumstances were not comparable to those of an ordinary Greek city."[56] Thus it is not clear if Paul's Corinthian readers would have understood the designation as indicating slave or free status.

All of this, however, is at most tangential with respect to the issue of how Paul understands himself in 1 Corinthians 4.1-2 and 9.17. The most that should be concluded from the evidence is that οἰκονόμος is an ambiguous term and not necessarily an indicator of slave status. Nor is it always an indicator of free status. The best generic interpretation of the term seems to be that which describes the person's function as an 'administrator' who could be either slave or free but whose status is undeterminable unless context or circumstances dictates otherwise. As noted above, Martin is not alone in his assumptions and could be plausibly correct if it were not for the occurrence of another term in 4.1 that describes Paul's status and clarifies what he means by οἰκονόμος.

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[52] Horsley 1981, 4:160-61.
[53] Reumann 1958, 339-349.
[54] Italics mine.
[55] Reumann 1958, 344.

13.2.2 Paul as Οἰκονόμος (4.1-2)

In 4.1 before Paul calls himself an οἰκονόμος he first describes himself as a ὑπηρέτης Χριστοῦ. In Paul ὑπηρέτης is a *hapax legomenon* and there is thus little basis for a comparison of its occurrence elsewhere in the corpus. This is also the case with its appearance in the LXX.[57] In the remainder of the NT the term is restricted to the gospels and Acts where it refers to those who carry out the punishment of legal courts,[58] serve as synagogue ministers,[59] officers in the temple,[60] and to describe Mark as an assistant of Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey.[61] In each case 'servant' or 'helper' is an appropriate translation, but the usage of the term and its context does not suggest slavery status but a free person who serves others willingly. This is similar to wider Greek usage, concerning which Rengstorf concluded that ὑπηρέτης describes "one who is subordinate and bound to obey, but as a free man, not a slave."[62] Thus Hermes, as the Θεῶν ὑπηρέτου, is also the ἄγγελος of his father Zeus and executes the will of Zeus with the power and authority that is behind him (*Aesch Prom.*, 954, 965). This is also the case for the men of Delphi in relation to Apollo (*Sophocles Oed. Tyr.*, 712),[63] and it is how Socrates identifies himself in the context of his divine commission to care for the people of Athens (*Plat.* 29d-30a).[64]

For Plato ὑπηρέτης represents the 'willing service of a free person' and his delineation between ὑπηρέτης and δοῦλος is insightful for understanding how the terms designated ones status. In *Politics* 289c-e, Plato designates δοῦλοι as property and separates them from tame farm animals only by the fact that they are not herded. He also stipulates that they are in their position as a result of being purchased.[65] On the other hand, the ὑπηρέται are those whom Plato designates as free persons (ἐλευθέροι) who serve voluntarily and willingly (ῥηθεῖσιν εἰς ὑπηρετικὴν).

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[56] Theissen 2000, 78.
[57] ὑπηρέτης is only used once as a translation for עבד in Prov 14.35 (See chapter on The Language of Enslavement).
[58] Matt 5.25; Mark 14.65; Acts 5.22, 26.
[59] Luke 4.20.
[60] John 7.45, 46; 18.3, 12, 18, 22, 36; 19.6.
[61] Acts 13.5.
[62] Rengstorf 1972, 8:534.
[63] Ibid., 530.
[64] ἐγω οἴομαι οὐδέν πω ὑμιν μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῆ πόλει ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν τῶ θεῷ ὑπηρεσιαν (LCL).
[65] Τούς ὠνητούς τε καὶ τῶ τρόπῳ τούτῳ κτητούς οὓς ἀναμφισβητήτως δούλους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν (LCL).

Taking into consideration the term's commonly held meaning and usage, it is improper to interpret the status of a ὑπηρέτης in the same restrictive nature and even low status position that δοῦλος represents. Thus when Paul calls himself ὑπηρέτης Χριστοῦ in 4.1 he should be understood as identifying himself as the free and voluntary servant of Christ. Connotations of restrictive slavery do not reflect the common usage.

What then is the significance of Paul's second identifier οἰκονόμος? At first glance it appears that Paul may have contradicted himself in a single sentence by identifying himself as a free and voluntary servant of Christ and then by using a somewhat ambiguous term that calls his status as a free person into question. Fee recognizes this complexity and concludes that it is Paul's second term which is more important of the two and communicates his image of a household slave.[66] Indeed this seems to be the observation of Barrett who concludes that Paul's use of the term is a result of his seeking a synonym for verbal variety as he describes his position as a household slave.[67] In support of these terms' synonymity, Barrett appeals to Epictetus' discourse on the ideal Cynic in which it is claimed that he considered the terms synonymous. But a careful examination of these 'supporting passages,' as demonstrated below, indicates otherwise.[68]

Detrimental to the supporting evidence for synonymity is that nowhere in the ideal Cynic discourse does Epictetus juxtapose the two terms as Paul does. Actually, the only time οἰκονόμος is used in the ideal Cynic discourse is 3.22.3 as part of a household illustration as he explains why the Cynic should not think highly of himself. The term's placement within an illustration rather than in the dialogue proper and its absence thereafter renders the evidence tenuous. The term is part of an illustration and is not necessarily intended as an identifying marker. Furthermore, even though Epictetus refers to the Cynic as a ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ, he never calls him the οἰκονόμος θεοῦ.

Also crucial is the context in which the two instances of ὑπηρέτης appear in the discourse. In 3.22.82 it is in response to why Cynics should not marry: (1) for the

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[66] Fee 1987, 159.

[67] Barrett 1968, 100. This is, as has been demonstrated, an improper interpretation of ὑπηρέτης. Rather than overlook, and not appreciate, Paul's specific terminology, it seems best to accept that Paul has a specific meaning in mind and that his choice of terms does not reflect his sense of linguistic limitations.

Cynic the whole world is their family, he is brother to all of humanity; (2) Zeus is the father of humanity; and (3) the Cynic is merely the servant of Zeus to them (ὑπηρέτης τοῦ Διός). In 3.22.95 the term is used as part of a response as to why Cynics should not be politicians: (1) they are not part of the world system; (2) they can count themselves as friend and servant to the gods (φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς ὑπηρέτης); and (3) they share in the government of Zeus (ὡς μετέχων τῆς αρχῆς τοῦ Διός). Both of these instances reveal that the Cynic is not a slave of the gods but is actually their family member, friend and partner. Their position is, as 3.22.3 says, as messengers of God sent to chastise humanity,[69] a role and designation similar to the description of Hermes quoted above. Epictetus' usage of the term, therefore, reflects the common identification of free persons who do the will of the gods and should not be used to support the claim of synonymity for ὑπηρέτης and οἰκονόμος in 1 Corinthians 4.1.

The best approach to the interpretation of ὑπηρέτης and οἰκονόμος in 4.1, therefore, is to consider the function of the conjunction καὶ that divides the terms as epexegetical.[70] This allows ὑπηρέτης to describe Paul's status and position in relation to Christ while the καὶ provides a further elucidation on the exact nature of that position through the οἰκονόμος term. Thus 4.1 could read:

> 'Let people consider us in this manner, as servants/helpers of Christ, that is, those who administer the mysteries of God.'

Post-Pauline support for this interpretation can be found in Ignatius' letter to Polycarp (6.1) in which he admonishes the church to watch over one another as "Θεου οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπηρέται." Perhaps influenced by Paul's language in 1 Corinthians 4.1,[71] Ignatius' statement is significant not just because of the juxtaposition of οἰκονόμος and ὑπηρέτης, but also because of his inclusion of πάρεδρος which is used to describe one who sits beside or assists another in a similar way to that of ὑπηρέτης.[72] Ignatius reinforces the non-slavery connotations of οἰκονόμος by using terminology that was commonly associated with free persons,

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[68] Caution should be used when reading this discourse so that the introductory questions to the dialogue are observed and the response can be properly understood.
[69] ὅτι ἄγγελος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπέσταλται καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (LCL).
[70] Rengstorf 1972, 8:542 n. 98. BDF §442 (9).
[71] Collins 1999, 172.
[72] BAGD, 624.

and his language provides an insight into how the early church perhaps understood Paul's identification as ὑπηρέτης Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμος μυστηρίων θεοῦ.

The advantage of this interpretation of 4.1 is two-fold. First, it allows each of the terms to stand independently of each other without regarding them as synonyms and avoids obscuring the potential impact of Paul's meaning. Second, it removes the apparent contradiction of status by interpreting the ambiguous term οἰκονόμος, not in the sense of slave status, but as a way to describe the function of Paul's position as Christ's voluntary servant. Paul is a free person under the authority of Christ who obediently dispenses the mysteries of God to the Corinthians. Admittedly this is a new metaphor for Paul who usually describes himself in terms of restrictive slavery and obligatory obedience. But it may also explain why δοῦλος Χριστοῦ does not appear in the Corinthian correspondence as an identifier for Paul. Paul has chosen to portray himself to his readers as one who freely chooses to serve and not one who is forced into service. The reason for this becomes even clearer when he picks up this theme again in 9.17.

13.2.3 Paul's Οἰκονομία (9.16-18)

It is generally agreed that in 9.1-18 Paul has constructed a mock defense. In response to those mentioned in chapter 8 who assert their right to eat meat sacrificed to idols, Paul is stressing his own freedom not defending it.[73] Using the language of moral philosophers and probably that of the meat eaters as well, Paul presents himself to be a free person who is under obligation to no person.[74] By way of example, he introduces his choice to reject financial support from the Corinthians, even though it is his right as an apostle, and thus demonstrates his freedom from the controlling influences of others. The function of the section, then, is to contrast Paul's actions with that of the meat eaters. Both have the right to conduct themselves in a particular manner. The true mark of the free person, however, is not to exercise those rights to the detriment of the weaker members of the community. Paul advocates the giving up of one's own rights for the good of others.[75]

Those who interpret 9.16-18 as Paul describing himself as a slave of Christ conclude that these verses create unexpected irony for his readers. Paul the free person is paradoxically the slave of Christ. Peter Marshall, for instance, interprets

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[73] Willis 1985, 33-48; Mitchell 1991, 130; Witherington 1995, 203; Martin 1990, 77.
[74] Horsley 1978, 574-589; Malherbe 1994, 231-255.
[75] Willis 1985, 274; Horsley 1978, 587.

Paul's claim to operate under compulsion (ἀνάγκη) in 9.16 as the antithesis of his claim to be free (ἐλεύθερός) in 9.1.[76] Both Martin and Marshall note that ἀνάγκη was often used in conjunction with δουλεία and denoted the state of slavery as well as the slave's obligation to obey.[77] Also regularly used in conjunction with ἀνάγκη and δουλεία were the terms ἑκὼν (willingly) and ἄκων (unwillingly). These words appear collectively in both social and philosophical discussions that describe the difference between the conduct of slaves and free persons.[78] Free persons served willingly (ἑκὼν), slaves unwillingly (ἄκων).[79] In Cynic/Stoic circles, these terms were frequently used to describe the 'true free person' as one who willingly chose to obey God rather than unwillingly and under compulsion.[80] Both Martin and Marshall recognize that Paul's terminology fits the context of Cynic/Stoic definitions of freedom, but conclude that Paul is using the terms in their social rather than philosophical context.[81] They assert that Paul identifies himself in 9.16-18 as an οἰκονόμος (by virtue of his οἰκονομία) who has refused to receive a wage (μισθός) for his labor, and is therefore the slave of Christ who unwillingly serves as a result of his compulsion.[82]

At first glance, this interpretation is attractive. It places Paul's language into a common context and reinforces the paradox between freedom and slavery found elsewhere in Paul including his earlier statements in 7.22. The difficulty, of course, is that it overlooks Paul's previous description of his position as an οἰκονόμος in 4.1. The identification of Paul as the unwilling slave of Christ in 9.17 is hard to support in light of his earlier statements in 4.1 despite the different contexts of his argument. Why would Paul describe himself as the free, willing, and voluntary servant of Christ and then change that theme to one of unwilling compulsion? Paul's role as an οἰκονόμος in 9.17 and the interpretation of ἀνάγκη, ἑκών and ἄκων should, therefore, be examined in a way that complements rather than contradicts his previous statements.

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[76] Marshall 1987, 296.
[77] Marshall 1987, 299; Martin 1990, 73.
[78] Marshall 1987, 299-300; Martin 1990, 72-74.
[79] Marshall takes Paul's "οὐαὶ γάρ μοί" in 9.16 as the cry of a slave who is aware of the consequences of their disobedience (1987, 303).
[80] Epictetus, *Diss* 4.3.9; Philo, *EGP*, 60;
[81] Marshall 1987, 298; Martin's approach allows for both interpretations to be heard depending upon the social class of the listener. To the upper class it would have been the language of philosophy. To the lower class the language of class status. "Either way it is clear that Paul's claim to act unwillingly and under compulsion would have been heard as an admission of slavery" (1990, 76).

Some have interpreted Paul's compulsion in 9.16 to preach the gospel as a reflection of his divine call.[83] Käsemann, for instance, says that ἀνάγκη "describes here the power of the divine will which radically and successfully challenges man and makes its servant its instrument."[84] Käsemann also recognizes, though, that Paul's language is similar to that of the Stoic, although with some significant differences.[85] This is also the observation of Abraham Malherbe who points out that Paul's argument and terminology in the passage is that of the Stoic discussion surrounding determinism and free will.[86] As Marshall and Martin noted, ἀνάγκη was an indicator to the Cynic/Stoic that one was not actually a free person. Yet while both prided themselves on their ability to live apart from ἀνάγκη, Malherbe demonstrates that the Cynic rejected attempts by Stoics to make free will conform to necessity or providence.[87] Evidence of this Stoic tendency can be found in Epictetus who stated that humans should not leave the station assigned to them by God because all things are ordered by God and it is impossible to function without that order.[88] According to Epictetus, the free person is the one who is attached to God and submits to the things that are the will of God without resistance.[89] What is more, the free person is the friend of God and obeys of his or her own free will (ἑκών).[90]

It is in this context that Malherbe suggests Paul's statements fit best. The Cynic and Stoic could not tolerate acting under compulsion. Paul, however, admits that he is under a compulsion to preach the gospel. In light of this situation "Paul considers two alternative ways in which it was possible to conform to the necessity laid upon him in a manner reminiscent of contemporary discussions of determinism and free will. Preach he must, but he could either preach ἑκών (willingly) or ἄκων (unwillingly), which were alternatives Stoics considered when arguing about the way the sage retained his freedom in an ordered universe."[91] Stoics exercised free will in

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[82] Marshall 1987, 304; Martin 1990, 84-85.
[83] Robertson and Plummer, 189; Barrett 1968, 209; Conzelmann 1975, 157; Fee 1987, 418; Thiselton 2000, 695.
[84] Käsemann, 1969, 230.
[85] Ibid., 234.
[86] Malherebe is careful to note, however, that Paul's self-understanding is not as a Stoic but as a prophet called like Jeremiah and that he is only adopting the arguments and terminology (1994, 239, 243).
[87] Ibid., 248.
[88] Epictetus, *Diss*, 1.9.24; 3.22.3.
[89] Ibid., 4.1.89-90, 98-101.
[90] Ibid., 4.3.9.
[91] Malherbe 1994, 249.

the context of the station assigned to them by God. So did Paul. He demonstrated to his readers that he is a free person but he exercises that freedom within the context of the ἀνάγκη laid upon him.

Malherbe's interpretation considers εἰ δὲ ἄκων as a real condition that receives its meaning from ἀνάγκη. Those who favor the slave of Christ interpretation of this passage consider the conditional sentence εἰ γὰρ ἑκών to be present only to set up the conditional sentence εἰ δὲ ἄκων which is actually Paul's real condition in light of his ἀνάγκη.[92] This interpretation also considers the statements μισθὸν ἔχω" and οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι that accompany the conditional sentences to be the results of Paul's actions and in contrast to one another. Thus, Paul does not have a μισθός (reward) because he has done this ἄκων (unwillingly) and is nothing more than a slave (οἰκονόμος).[93] This interpretation, however, requires that μισθὸς be understood as a wage in light of Paul's refusal to receive support from the Corinthians rather than as a reward for his willing service for the gospel.[94] However, Paul acknowledges in 9.18 that he does have a reward, which is his ability as a free person to preach the gospel without being financially obligated to the Corinthians. Paul's reward is the satisfaction of not having to exercise his rights to financial support. Thus he has both a reward (μισθός) and a stewardship (οἰκονομία), as he has already claimed in 4.1. The two are not antithetical to one another but are a result of his position in the divine plan. Malherbe says:

> Although he has necessity laid upon him to preach the gospel, he does so willingly and has a reward. Were he to preach unwillingly, he would nevertheless have to preach, for he has been entrusted with an οἰκονομία. What is the reward that accrues to him for his voluntary preaching? Paradoxically, his free decision not to receive pay for his preaching, but to offer the gospel free of charge. The point of this tortured mixture of philosophical and commercial language is to make the case that by exercising his free will in the manner in which he preached, he did not make full use of his *exousia*.[95]

Malherbe's interpretation of 9.16-18 complements rather than contradicts Paul's previous statements in 4.1. In 4.1 Paul's identification as ὑπηρέτας

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[92] Fee 1987, 249; Thiselton 2000, 697; Collins 1999, 346.
[93] This interpretation has been mainly the result of a Protestant reaction against a Catholic doctrine of supererogation. See Käsemann for a considerable discussion on this matter (1969, 218-223).
[94] It is possible for μισθὸς to mean wage as it does in 1 Corinthians 3.8. It is significant, however, that μισθός is lacking in Paul's argument of 9.4-15. If it were present it would be more reasonable to interpret it as 'wage' rather than 'reward.' Note also that in 3.14 μισθός is better translated as 'reward' even though the natural translation is 'wage' in 3.8.

Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ designated him as one among others who voluntarily and willingly served as Christ's servant while administering an office. In 9.17 that theme is reintroduced as Paul acknowledges the divine call he has to preach, an activity that he does willingly and voluntarily in the context of the office (οἰκονομία) that has been assigned to him. Paul is not describing himself as the slave of Christ, but the free person who willingly serves Christ and fulfills his office as an οἰκονόμος.

13.2.4 The Paradox of Freedom (9.19)

In 9.19-23 Paul reaches the conclusion of his argument and his presentation of himself as an example of how to not use one's rights. He picks up again the slogan he recited in 9.1 with which he began his argument and declares himself a free person. Yet, regardless of his now proven status as free, he is willing to enslave himself to others (πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα).[96] This is the paradox of freedom. Until now Paul has demonstrated that he is a free person who voluntarily serves Christ and fulfills his office in accordance with his divine call. But for Paul freedom does not mean self-determination; it means enslaving himself to others for the sake of the gospel. Paul as a free person has the right to do many things, but he willingly chooses not to use those rights and becomes a slave of others for their benefit rather than his own.[97] This principle, as presented in Galatians 5.13, is what guides Paul's actions in the context of the Christian community.[98] This is the action that Paul wants the meat-eaters to model for the sake of the weaker members of the community.[99] Freedom is an opportunity for slavery. Thus Marshall is correct when he concludes that Paul is the paradoxically free person who is enslaved to another.[100] The antithesis, however,

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[95] Malherbe 1994, 251.

[96] The presence of ἐμαυτόν here reinforces the interpretation that Paul is not acting under compulsion but voluntarily in accordance with his divine call.

[97] This argument is rejected by Martin because he views Paul here as representing the enslaved leader who acquires authority through the low status position of slave of Christ (1994, 134). This interpretation is not viable though because Paul does not (as Martin insists) identify himself as the slave of Christ in 9.16-18 and the verses that follow serve as an example of behavior for the good of the community and not of leaders who allow themselves to become enslaved.

[98] It is of incidental but significant consequence that as part of his description of slavery to others Paul introduces the law of Christ which many agree is linked to his statements in Galatians 6.2 (Dodd, 1953, 96-110; Witherington 1995, 213).

[99] Mitchell 1991, 130.

[100] Marshall says, "This is a radical self-description. I know of no parallel in Greek and Roman literature. The Greeks often see a thing together with its antithesis. But they are always opposed. Free in status means not being servile in status. If it is not stated it is always understood" (1987, 305).

is not between ἀνάγκη and ἐλεύθερος,[101] but rather between ἐλεύθερος and δοῦλος as Paul has set it up in 9.19. The contrast is not between Paul's freedom from humans and his slavery to Christ. It is his enslavement to others in spite of his freedom from humans.[102] Paul has freedom of choice, and he chooses slavery.

13.2.5 Paul and Christ as Examples of Self-Enslavement

In chapters 9 and 10 Paul presents himself to his readers as an example of the behavior he wants them to adopt. Mitchell has demonstrated that as part of Paul's appeal for behavior that promotes a common community advantage, he offers both positive and negative examples for the Corinthians to observe. In chapter 9 he demonstrates his own renunciation of rights for the sake of the well being of others in the community. In 10.1-13 he uses a negative example from the wilderness generation in which he constructs an analogy between ancient Israel and the Church at Corinth.[103] In 10.14-22 he revisits the issue of idolatry (i.e. meat sacrificed to idols) by building on the negative example of ancient Israel.[104] Finally, in 10.23-11.1 Paul ends his appeal by reinforcing his argument with 'Let no one seek his own good but that of his neighbor.'[105] In conclusion to the section Paul then exhorts the Corinthians 'Be imitators of me as I am of Christ.' Throughout these chapters Paul has been holding himself up as an example of proper conduct towards others. The renunciation of one's own rights and advantages for the sake of those less fortunate is the goal of the discourse. With the introduction of Christ into the equation, Paul establishes his authority for demanding these actions. Witherington suggests "it is possible that he alludes here to Christ's servanthood example of giving up all for the sake of others, even to the point of death on the cross."[106] Elsewhere he suggests that Paul's model of self-enslavement is found in Philippians 2.6-11 in the trajectory and character of the career of Christ.[107] The conclusions reached earlier in this thesis have demonstrated that Witherington is correct. Christ was the paradigmatic slave of God, and his act of voluntary self-enslavement was a pattern by which Paul and the churches he founded guided themselves. To imitate Christ was to be his slave and

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[101] Ibid., 296, 306.
[102] Paul reiterates this principle in 2 Corinthians 4.5 where he and others are said to enslave themselves to the Corinthians for the sake of Christ (ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν).
[103] Mitchell 1991, 251.
[104] Ibid., 254.
[105] This is the first occurrence of such a phrase in Paul but it can easily be compared to the notion of the law of Christ in Gal 5.13, 6.2 whereby one bears the burdens of others (See also Fee 1987, 479).
[106] Witherington 1995, 229.

ultimately to be the slave of God.[108] By exhorting the Corinthians to imitate him as he did Christ, Paul was making an implicit request that they enslave themselves to Christ. The Corinthians may have been able to claim the status of free persons, but for the sake of Christ and the church Paul asks that they would instead choose to become slaves, slaves of Christ and of one another.

13.3 Conclusion

The situation in Corinth presented Paul with both a unique opportunity as well as a challenge in the way he conveyed his understanding of slavery to Christ. Because Paul directly addresses the situation of slaves who have become believers, he has the opportunity to explain how he interprets their status as slaves in light of their calling in Christ. He borrows terminology and imagery from their participation in the institution of slavery and unhesitatingly incorporates it into the already well-established metaphor of slavery to God and Christ. By doing this Paul communicates a message that, on the one hand, mitigates individual social standing in the context of Christian faith. On the other hand, he reinforces the obligation of loyalty and obedience to Christ. For Paul, slavery is nothing and freedom is nothing. What is important is obeying Christ.

In Corinth there was a climate of posturing among those who claimed to be 'free' and wished to exercise their rights regardless of their fellow believers. Paul's challenge is to communicate a message of slavery to Christ without tipping his hand too quickly and alienating his 'free' readers. This may be why he has chosen not to identify himself as the slave of Christ in the opening greeting of the letter. Had a group of 'free people' read such a claim in the opening of the letter, Paul's message may have been considered defective and interpreted as coming from one who is unable to make his own decisions. Recognizing the potential for alienation, Paul forgoes his usual epithet of δοῦλος Χριστοῦ and identifies himself instead as the free ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ who serves voluntarily and is entrusted with an office to dispense the 'mysteries of God.' By adopting this title, as unusual as it is for him, Paul is able to communicate the obligation of obedience and loyalty that he owes to Christ, but without the negative connotations of bondage and restricted service. After a protracted discussion in which he demonstrates his freedom and ability to choose,

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[107] Ibid., 212.
[108] See above § 10.4.2; 10.5.2; 11.3.3.

Paul reveals his choice, which is slavery to others. This is the paradox of freedom in Christ that one who is free to choose chooses to forego their freedom for the sake of those in the community. Paul presents himself as an example of this self-enslavement and encourages his readers to follow his example by imitating both Christ and himself and thus become the slaves of Christ and one another.

Paul's message would have been clear to his readers. They may have already taken some offense at his claim in 7.22 that as persons who were ἐλεύθεροι they were actually the δοῦλοι χριστοῦ. His demonstration of his own freedom would, however, somewhat diminish their fears. But his choice to be the slave of others and his exhortation that they imitate him in this action would have left little doubt in their minds. Paul wanted them to use their freedom as an opportunity to serve one another just as he had commanded their fellow believers in Galatia. He wants them to choose to become the slaves of Christ.

Chapter 14
Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, the traditional interpretations of Paul's self-identification as a slave of Christ are unsatisfactory. The conclusion that Paul's title is 'honorific,' adopted from Moses, the prophets and other heroes of Jewish history is overly specific and fails to consider the larger context of Jewish self-understanding. Furthermore, the assumption that Paul adopted the title 'slave of God' and merely exchanged 'Christ' for 'God' suggests that Paul is at the apex of a developing tradition and alienates him from the currents of ideas in Judaism contemporary to him. This interpretation reduces the Jewish tradition of slavery to God as merely a catalyst for Christianity and fails to consider the tradition as its own separate and developing phenomenon within early Judaism.

Similarly, suggestions that Paul adopted the phrase from the Greco-Roman background are not satisfactory. This thesis has demonstrated that no thoroughly convincing interpretation of the title 'slave of Christ' has yet been made on the basis of the Greco-Roman background. Supposed parallels to Greco-Roman practices in the Pauline epistles are not always evident and are often tenuous. Moreover, this interpretation often overlooks the religious background in which the phrase originated and the influence this background may have had on Paul. Similar to the 'honorific' interpretation, the Greco-Roman background unnecessarily alienates Paul from his Jewish context instead of locating him within a conversation concerning slavery to God that was taking place among Paul's Jewish contemporaries.

This thesis has proposed that Paul's use of slavery language is better understood in the context of the wider Jewish slave of God traditions. This does not mean that Paul never had Greco-Roman practices in mind. It does signify, however, that Paul's notion of slavery to God and Christ can be regarded as a natural development from his Jewish heritage. Paul did sometimes allude to Greco-Roman practices by way of an illustration (Rom 6.16; 14.4; 1 Cor 7.22). His preliminary framework, however, was the Jewish slave of God tradition.

The examination of Jewish literature in Part One indicated that the Exodus event was regarded as the source for the tradition that Jews were God's slaves. Israel was released from slavery in Egypt in order to become the slaves of God.

Enslavement to anyone other than God was interpreted as incompatible with this status. Incidents of enslavement, of Israelites to other peoples, thus resulted in a theological explanation of the situation as well as developing a pattern of response. The particular historical and social circumstances of individual authors often influenced the way that they responded to slavery.

As noted in Part Two, there is no evidence that suggests Paul struggled between his status as God's slave and as a denizen of the Roman Empire. Instead, Paul's efforts were directed solely at reconfiguring his status as God's slave against the backdrop of the Christ event. For Paul's Jewish contemporaries, the threat of physical slavery forced them to consider how it was possible to be God's slave while enslaved to another person. In Paul's case, however, the issue was how believers could be the slave of God and the slave of Christ at the same time. The analysis of the Pauline epistles in Part Two suggests that the informative framework of Paul's understanding of slavery to Christ consisted of four essential parts: (1) the figure of Christ, (2) the significance of the Christ event, (3) the responsibility of the believer, and (4) the function of the community.

14.1 The Figure of Christ

For Paul, Christ is the paradigmatic slave of God. As illustrated in the Philippian hymn, Christ exemplifies the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation*, which is how the slave of God was often identified in early Judaism. Central to Christ's character is his obedience. This obedience identified him as a slave of God and was the reason God exalted him from his humble situation. This exaltation provided Christ with the title of 'Lord' over all of creation. The authority invested in this title was derived from God and was exercised by Christ on behalf of and to the glory of God. In response to Christ's new title and authority, creation became obligated to obey Christ. Similar to the ideology of the Israelite monarchy, Christ is God's representative on earth and directs those under his authority towards obedience of God. Those who obey Christ are his slaves as well as the slaves of God.

14.2 The Significance of the Christ Event

Paul interprets the Christ event through the language and imagery of the Exodus. Israel was released from slavery in Egypt to be the slaves of God. According to Paul, humanity was released from slavery to sin to become the slaves of God. The implications of Christ's death and resurrection are portrayed as a transferring event.

Those who identify with Christ through faith and baptism are transferred from slavery under one master (sin) to slavery under another master (God). The objective of the Christ event was not freedom but slavery. Slavery is axiomatic to human experience. Prior to the Christ event humanity was involuntarily enslaved to sin, though still held responsible. As a result of the Christ event, those who identify with Christ have the opportunity to choose whom they will obey and be enslaved. The ultimate intention of the Christ event is not slavery to Christ, however. Christ never stands as an alternative to slavery to sin or 'other gods.' Only God is represented as an alternative to slavery. The Christ event and enslavement to Christ are avenues through which the believer becomes an obedient slave of God.

14.3 The Obligations of the Believer

Part One demonstrated that Jews were able to fulfill their obligation of obedience to God by imitating the obedient acts of their progenitors. In particular was the figure of Joseph who demonstrated how to respond to unjustified slavery through the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* In Paul an analogous parallel exists. Believers are intended to become obedient slaves of Christ and to imitate the example of Christ's obedience of God. This Christ like obedience can be achieved through obeying the law of Christ, that is, by imitating the pattern of *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.* By fulfilling their obligation of obedience as slaves of the exalted Christ, they are also fulfilling their obligations of obedience to God. In response to their obedience, believers may anticipate being exalted by God. Such exaltation will not manifest itself in the acquisition of authority, as it was for Christ, but in conformity to Christ. This exaltation is an eschatological rather than an already realized event, however. Until 'the end' believers are the slaves of God and Christ, but still experience the lasting effects of their enslavement to sin.

14.4 The Function of the Community

The freedom from sin affected by the Christ event is not an opportunity for self-determination; rather believers are to enslave themselves to one another (Gal 5.13). Obedience to Christ as his slaves is defined and measured by one's self-enslavement to others. Imitating the example of Christ's obedience entails humbling themselves and becoming the slaves of those who are in the community. This includes foregoing rights to certain actions and privileges that their 'freedom' affords them (Rom 14.13-18). The paradox of freedom in Christ is the willingness of

individuals to use their freedom as an opportunity to enslave themselves to others (1 Cor 9.19). This, in turn, makes them a paradigm of imitation for others within the community (1 Cor 11.1). The way they enslave themselves for the work of the gospel and the good of the community is intended to serve as an example to others (Phil 2.19-30; 3.17). Those who imitate Christ and other believers are identifying with the community and its relationship with God.

14.5 Insider/Outsider Ideology in the Pauline Concept of Slavery

It was demonstrated in Part One that the Insider/Outsider Ideology of slavery was incorporated into ancient Israelite concepts of institutional slavery. This ideology also influenced Israel's (and later Jews') self-understanding as slaves of God. Insiders were identified as those who were part of the covenant community and maintained obedience to God through covenant fidelity and the practice of monolatry. Outsiders were identified as foreigners who were not part of the covenant community who worshipped 'other gods' and were unassociated with the God of Israel.

For Paul, the Insiders may be regarded as those believers who have identified with Christ in baptism, render obedience to Christ and participate in the life of the community. They are the slaves of Christ. This implies, then, that Outsiders are those who are not associated with Christ, those who worship 'other gods' or are even willing to turn from Christ to things that are regarded as the equivalent (Gal 4.8-11; 1 Thess 1.10). Included in this list of Outsiders are those who claim to be the slaves of Christ but actually promote alternative types of slavery, which Paul considers as incompatible with slavery to Christ (Rom 16.18; Gal 1.10; 2.4).

In ancient Israel the Insider/Outsider ideology operated as a safeguard against Israelites becoming permanently enslaved to one another. This prevented Israelites from the effects of natal alienation and losing their status as Insiders (i.e. as members of the covenant community). In Paul the permanent enslavement to other members of the community was not prohibited but encouraged. Indeed, we could go so far as suggest that it was a requirement. Self-enslavement to others in the community was not regarded as incompatible with the believers' status as slaves of Christ. Self-enslavement is what identified them as a slave of Christ.

In Part One a change of emphasis in relation to the Insider/Outsider ideology was identified in the writings of some later authors. Rather than distinguish the Insiders as only Israelites or Jews, some authors (Josephus, Philo, *T. 12. Patr*)

diminished the ideology in such a way that all of humanity might become the slaves of God. This shift in focus was based on the view that as creator God had established universal laws, which governed the natural and moral order. Because all of humanity was part of God's creation and had the opportunity to obey God's laws, it followed that they might also become God's slaves based on their obedience of the universal law. This new emphasis moved away from the requirement of covenant fidelity and emphasized monolatry. For Philo and Josephus this new emphasis away from covenant-based obedience resulted in the category of Insiders to include Gentiles as well as Jews. Paul's view was comparable. He diminished the Insider/Outsider ideology by exchanging obedience to the law with faith. Obedient faith in Christ is what made an individual a slave of Christ, not obedience to the Jewish law. Consequently, both Jews and Gentiles may become God's slaves through Christ rather than the law.

One factor in this change in emphasis of the Insider/Outsider ideology was the occurrence of new situations of enslavement during the Second Temple period that seemed to threaten the status of Jews as God's slaves. A debate ensued about whether it was possible to be enslaved to God and someone or something else at the same time. Josephus struggled to show his readers that it was possible to serve Rome and still be the slave of God. Philo's life and writings demonstrate that he believed it was possible. Paul also sees no contradiction. One can be physically enslaved and still be the slave of Christ (1 Cor 7.21-23). More importantly, though, slavery to sin and Christ are recognized as two possible and even simultaneous possibilities. Paul explains this seemingly double slavery through the matrix of eschatology. Through Christ believers are freed from the obligation to obey sin, but the lasting effects of their former slavery in this age are conceded (Rom 7.25b). For the believer it is the hope of exaltation in the day of Christ when they will be conformed to Christ and participate in his resurrection that will release them from the influences of their old master.

14.6 Slave of Christ as an Emblem

In view of the conclusions reached in this thesis, the identification of the four essential elements of slavery to Christ, and the function of the Insider/Outsider ideology, it is possible to offer a definitive conclusion about what Paul meant when he called himself a slave of Christ. Part One concluded that the phrase 'slave of God'

was an emblem that conveyed both historical and religious claims. The title was a distinctive way of associating the Israelites/Jews with God and represented their national history in conjunction with God. To declare oneself a slave of God was to identify with the story of the Exodus, the stipulations of the covenant and the subsequent events that helped to influence the development of the tradition. As an emblem, the phrase contained within it the axioms of Israelite religion and the lessons of history. To identify oneself as a slave of God was to make a statement of both religious and national significance.

In light of this informative framework, the title 'slave of Christ' in Paul may also be said to have an emblematic status. The title recalls the transforming results of the Christ event. It defines the believer as a member (Insider) of the Christian community. It focuses attention on the object of the believer's obedience, which is the exalted Christ. However, Paul's claim to be Christ's slave was not a usurpation of the normal position of God in the title. For Paul, 'Slave of Christ' was a religious claim about his relationship with God in the context of the Christ event. When Paul used the expression to refer to himself or others, he was declaring his association with the figure of Christ, his release from sin through the Christ event, his enslavement to God and his obedience to God through the imitation of the paradigmatic slave of God, Christ.

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